

THESIS

FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D. IN PERSIAN LITERATURE

ON

"INTRODUCTION TO THE TĀRĪKH-I-BAYHAQ

OF DHANĪRU'D-DĪN ABU'L-HASAN 'ALĪ B. ZAYD AL-BAYHAQĪ"

SUBMITTED BY

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INTRODUCTION
TO THE TÁRÍKH-I-BAYHAQ
OF
DHAHÍRU'D-DÍN ABU'L-ḤASAN 'ALÍ B. ZAYD AL-BAYHAQÍ.

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ABSTRACT.

The *Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq* is one of the few rare and precious works that have survived the awful Mongol Invasion. The work, as its name implies, is a history of the famous district of Bayhaq, in Khurāsān, completed in the year 563 A.H. = 1167 A.D., by an inhabitant of the district, called Dhahīru'd-Dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Bayhaqī, who died two years after completing the work. This important work was not paid attention to until quite recent years.

The present dissertation is upon the work, and it is divided into three parts. The First deals with the Author; his correct laqab; his birth, and birthplace; details of his education; his marriage to the daughter of the Governor of Ray; his appointment as Qādī and Governor; ~~and~~ his candidature for the ministry under Sultān Sanjar; ^{and} the author's ancestors, who were honoured by the contemporaries, wazīrs and kings.

The Second part deals with the work, which is the most important existing source of information upon the culture of Bayhaq. This part includes the suggestion that Ḥamdu'llah Mustawfī had the *Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq* in view when he wrote his *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda*; it also contains the earliest account of Abu'l-Faql Bayhaqī, the eminent historian, and his unknown book *Zīnatu'l-Kuttāb*; a detailed account of the celebrated Wazīr Nidhāmu'l-Mulk and his descendants; Persian literature of the sixth century; and translations of biographical sketches of

authors and other eminent men mentioned in the *Tárikh-i-Bayhaq*

The Third part deals with other works of the Author; some eighty books, written in Arabic and in Persian; his existing book the *Tárikh-i-Hukamáu'l-Islám*, which contains the earliest account of 'Umar Khayyám; its reproduction in the *Nuzhatu'l-Arwáh* by Shahrázúrí; its MSS. in different libraries; translations of biographical sketches of eminent Muslim and Christian authors mentioned in it; and some details of his non-existent works.

TRANSLITERATION.

The following system, which varies slightly from that adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society and others, has been followed in the Thesis:-

ا	-	a			
ب	-	b		ط	- t
ت	-	t		ظ	- dh
ث	-	th		ع	- 'e
ج	-	j		غ	- gh
ح	-	h		ف	- f
خ	-	kh		ق	- q
د	-	d		ك	- k
ذ	-	z		ل	- l
ر	-	r		م	- m
ز	-	z		ن	- n
س	-	s		و	- w.v.
ش	-	sh		ه	- h
ص	-	s		ء	- 'a
ض	-	ḍ		ي	- y

Long vowels are denoted thus:- آ - ā, إ - ī, أ - ū.

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PREFACE.

Much has been written regarding the losses which Persian literature suffered by the great Mongol Invasion. What works survived the catastrophe are very rare, and for the most part very valuable. Though poetry at first attracted scholars more than did the prose, in later years, the prose, which is no less interesting - and perhaps more important - is gradually receiving more consideration. Among such prose works may be named *Chahār Maqāla*, *Rāḥatū's-Ṣudūr* and *Tagkiratu'l-Awliyā*.

Still, there remain a number of books which deserve close study. Among such may be reckoned the famous *Maqāmāt* of Ḥamīd al-Dīn, which was written after the style of the standard prose works of Arabic, the *Maqāmāt* of Harīrī and of Badī'ū'z-Zamān Ḥamadānī. The *Maqāmāt* of Ḥamīdī is a text-book in almost all the highest examinations of the Indian Universities, as well as in the *Munshifādīl* and in M.O.L. (Master of Oriental Languages and Literature) examinations of the Punjab University. No two published texts of the book agree in their readings.

Among the few prose works which survived the Mongol disaster is the *Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq*. Besides being the oldest of the books mentioned above, except *Chahār Maqāla*, by some eleven years,

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book takes, on account of its own peculiarities, a unique position in Persian history; for it contains some important historical facts, as well as biographical notices of eminent men of Bayhaq, not to be found elsewhere. It is also remarkable for its fine and clear style.

It is here my pleasant duty to express my gratitude; first to Prof. Sir E. Denison Ross, under whom I have had the honour of pursuing my studies, for the kind help he has always generously rendered me. I have to thank also Mr E. A. Storey, particularly for the suggestions of some technical terms. I am grateful likewise to 'Allāma Mirzā Muḥammad Khān Qazwīnī, and the late Prof. Marquart, for some suggestions regarding the collection of material. Prof. Vasmer of Leningrad has been kind enough to transcribe and forward to me a copy of the entry in the Tashkent Library Catalogue concerning the *Tārīkh-i-Bay* - that part of the Tashkent Catalogue containing it, not being available in the British Museum. Prof. Schmidt, of the University of Tashkent was good enough to help me to obtain photographs of certain pages of the MS. there, the Librarian Mr. Chernov readily forwarding me the photographs, free of charge.

To Professors Nicholson, Krenkow, Barthold, Gabrieli, Rittmitch, Mittwoch, Sakhaw, Weil, Messrs. Ellis, Edwards, Hādī Hasan and Henry Hassall, I ~~also~~ tender my grateful thanks. I am also much

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indebted to Dr. Mīdhāmū'd-Dīn for his help in finding out the subject for research; to Mawlvi Abdur-Rahmān Khān, the principal of the Osmania University College, Hyderabad, Deccan - for his kindly support of my efforts to visit Europe. Last but not least, I have gratefully to acknowledge my indebtedness to H.E.H. the Mīdhām's Government, under whom I have the honour of serving, and owing to whose generosity I have been enabled to proceed to Europe, there to continue my higher studies and researches.

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ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

Add.	= Additional. (Mark of the MSS. in the British Museum.
Ahsan.	= Ahsanu't-Tawárikh of Kháki Shír Rieu, Catalogue of Persian MSS. the British Museum, Oriental 16
Ar.	= Arabic.
Barthold.	= Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion, W.Barthold, Gibb Memorial Series.
Ber. Lib.	= Berlin State Library.
Br.Mus.	= British Museum
Broek.	= Brockelmann (Carl), Geschichte Arabischen Litteratur, Weimar & Berlin.
Cat.	= Catalogue.
Cha.Maq.	= Chahár Maqála, ed.Mirzá Muhammed Gazwini, Gibb Memorial Series.
Der Islám.	= Der Islám, C.H.Becker, Strassbu
Dozy Cat.	= Dozy Catalogue of Oriental MSS. Leyden Library.
Elliot History of India	= History of India, ed.Elliot (H. and Dowson (J.)
Ency. Islám.	= Encyclopaedia of Islám.
Haft Iqlím .	= Haft Iqlím, Cat.Per.MSS. Br.Mus Or. 203.

Haj. Khal.

= Hájí Khalifa, Kashfu'ah-Dhuny
ed. G.L. Flügel.

Ibn Khal.

= Ibn Khallikán, Wafayátu'l-A'
ed. Wüstenfeld, (Ferdinand).

~~Irshād al-Arīb ilá Ma'rifat~~

Irshād.

~~Irshād al-Arīb ilá Ma'rifat~~

= Irshādu'l-Arīb ilá Ma'rifat-
Adīb, Yāqūt, ed. D.S. Margolion
Gibb Memorial Series.

Islām.

= Islām, Sir Denison Ross, ed.
(William).

Jahān-gushā.

= Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gushā-i-Juwaynī
ed. Mirzā Muḥammad, Gibb Mem
Series.

Jawāmi'.

= Introduction to the Jawāmi'u
Hikāyāt of 'Awfī, Dr. Nidhāmu
Dīn, Gibb Memorial Series.

J.R.A.S.

= Journal of the Royal Asiatic
Society of Great Britain &
Ireland.

Jāmi'u't-Tawārīkh.

= Jāmi'u't-Tawārīkh, ~~as~~ Rashīdu
Dīn Badlu'llah Ṭabīb, ed. Blo
(Edgard).

Kāmil.

= Kāmil fi't-Tārīkh, ~~as~~ Ibnu'l-
Athīr, ed. Tornberg (C.J.)

Kharída .

Kharídatu'l-Qaṣr wa Jarídatu'l-
'Aṣr, 'Imádu'd-Dín Kátib al-
Isfahání, Dozy Catalogue, Vol.
p.208. Cod.21a et b. Col.,348
Warn.

L.E.C.

= The Lands of the Eastern Calip
Le Strange (Guy).

Lit.His.Per.

= Literary History of Persia, E.
Browne.

Mir'át. ~~MSB~~

Mir'átu-l-Buládn.

Mir'át Mirqát.

= Mir'átu'l-Adwár wa Mirqátu'l-
Akhdár, Muṣliḥu'd-Dín Lárí, Ad
7650.

Mu'jam .

= Mu'jamu'l-Buládn, Yáqút, publi
in Egypt.

N.Q.

= Nuzhatu'l-Qulúb, Hamdu'llah Mu
awfi, ed. Le Strange (Guy).

Nuzhat.

= Nuzhatu'l-Arwáh wa Rawqatu'l-
Afráh fí Tawdriḥ-i-Hukamái'l-
Mutaqaddimín wa'l-Muta' Khkhir
of Shahrastúrí, Ahlwardt Cat. A
MSS. Ber.Lib. No.10055, No.217
Oriental (Mark of the MSS. in
British Museum.)

Or.

Or.Studien.	= Orientalische Studien, ² Festschrift zu Ehren von Nöldeke (Theodor), Gießen
Per.	= Persian.
Pm.	= Petermann.
Rāḥat.	= Rāḥatu'ṣ-Ṣudūr wa Āyatu's-S Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Ar-Rawand
Rawḍatu'ṣ-Ṣafa	= Rawḍatu'ṣ-Ṣafa of Mirkhwand Muḥammad Iqbal, Gibb Memorial Series.
Ṣafadī.	= Ṣalāḥu'd-Dīn Ṣafadī, al-wāfi Wafayāt, (Supplement to the Ar.MSS. Br.Mus.Or.6587.)
Schram.	= Schram (Robert), Kalendario graphische und Chronologische Tafeln, Leipzig.
Sis. and Máz.	= Sistan and Mázandarán, E.A.Y
Suppl.	= Supplement.
Ṭab. Aṭ.	= Ṭabaqātu'l-Aṭṭibbá, Abi Usa Cairo & Königsburg.
T.B.	= Táríkh-i-Bayhaq, Rieu, Supplement Cat. Per.MSS. Br.Mus.Or. 35
Ṭabaqát.	= Ṭabaqát-i-Naṣirí, Minhájju'd 'Uthmán b.Sirájju'd-Dīn, ed. I

- Tahzib. = Tahzibu'l-Asma', Yahya ib
Sharaf Nawawi, ed. Wusten
feld.
- Tár. Huk. Islám. = Táríkh-i-Hukamáu'l-Islám
our author, Ahlwardt, Cat
Ar.MSS. Ber.Lib. No.10052
Petermann 737.
- Tár. Huk. = Táríkh-i-Hukamá', 'Alí b
Yúsuf al-Qiftí, Ahlwardt,
Cat. Ar.MSS. Ber.Lib. No.
10053, Mf. 493.
- Tár. Huk. Sal. = Táríkh-i-Hukamá-i-Salaf,
(A Persian translation of
Nuzhatu'l-Arwáh of Shahrá
by Maqqúd 'Alí. Rieu, Supp
Cat. Per. MSS. Br.Mus. No
10053, Mf. 493.
- T.G. = Táríkh-i-Guzida, ~~of~~ Hamdu'
Mustawfi, ed. E.C. Browne;
abridged translation by P.
R.A. Nicholson.
- Wust. = Wustenfeld (Ferdinand)
- Yamini. = Táríkh-i-Yamini, ~~of~~ al-'Ut
Rieu, Cat.Per.MSS. Br.Mus
Add. 24,950.
- Yatima. = Yatimatu'd-Dahr, ~~of~~ ath-Th
alibi, Damascus.



PART I.

BCM/SH

THE AUTHOR.



BCM/SH

CHAPTER I.

The correct Laqab.

The correct
laqab is
Dhahīru'd-Dīn
not Sharafu'd-
Dīn.

There is much confusion about the laqab of our author. In his autobiography which he narrated in his book *Mashāribu't-Tajārib wa Ghawār'ibu'l-Gharā'ib* he calls himself simply Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Abi'l-Qāsim Zayd-al-Bayhaqī^{1.}; and he writes the same kunya and name when he sets forth his genealogy in the *Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq*.^{2.}

Ṣafadī gives his account under the name of 'Alī b. Zayd al-Bayhaqī.^{3.}

Imādu'd-Dīn Isfahānī in his famous book *Kharīdatu'l-Qasr wa Jarīdatu'l-'Aqr* styles him Sharafu'd-Dīn.^{4.}

Yāqūt Rūmī who quotes some of our author's autobiography in *Irshādu'l-Arīb ilā Ma'rifati'l-Adīb*, gives his account under the heading of 'Alī b. Zayd

1. *Irshād*, Vol. V, p. 208.

2. T.B. f.2a.

3. Ṣafadī, Vol. XII, f. 68a.

4. *Kharīda*, Vol. II, ff. 244^U, 190a. There are two MSS. of the *Kharīda* in Leyden Library; one Cod. 21a et b Gol; the other 348 Wurn. Our author's acco is given under 21b, ff. 244a, b; and 348 ff. 190a, b. The numbers we have quoted in footnotes are from both the MSS. successively, so as to facilitate reference to either of them.

al-Bayhaqí and does not write any other laqab himself rather quotes what 'Imádu'd-Dín styles him, Sharafu'^{1.}
Dín.

Ibn Khallikán also calls him Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí b. Zayd al-Bayhaqí, referring to the Zayl of as-Sam'ání and writes Sharafu'd-Dín quoting 'Imádu'd-Dín and^{2.}
showing his own uncertainty.

But Brockelmann styles him Dhahíru'd-Dín,^{3.} probably on the authority of the Táríkh-i-Ḥukamáu'l-Islám. This laqab is written on the first page of the Táríkh-i-Ḥukamáu'l-Islám in these words:-

"Tálib-i-Dhahíru'd-Dín al-Bayhaqí", and in the preface of the book, "Qála ash-Shaikh al-Imám Dhahíru'd-Dín Abu'l-Ḥasan b. al-Imám Abu'l-Qásim Zay al-Bayhaqí". As regards these words it is possible that only Dhahíru'd-Dín al-Bayhaqí was written by the author himself, other words denoting respect for the author were evidently introduced by the transcriber after the fashion of the oriental transcribers of old. Similarly the same laqab is written on the abridged MS. of the Táríkh-i-Ḥukamáu'l-Islám which is preserved

1. Irshád, Vol. V, p. 214.

2. Ibn, Khal. Vol. I, p. 74.

3. Brock. Vol. I, p. 324.

4. Ahlwardt, Cat. Ar. MSS. Ber. Lib. No. 10,052. Pet. 737. The Berlin Catalogue wrongly quotes in the index Táríkh-i-Ḥukamá, though in the MS. itself the correct name is written Táríkh-i-Ḥukamáu'l-Islám.

1.
in the Leyden Library, in these words:-

”الاختصار من تته صوان الحكمة من تأليف الامام ظهير الدين الى الحسن
بن ابي القاسم البيهقي قدس الله روحه“

There are two other MSS. of this book entered 1.

2.
the catalogues of the libraries of Bashir Aghá, and

3.
Mullá Murád, at Constantinople. The laqab of our

author on the MS. which exists in the library of

Bashir Aghá is written down thus:-

”اخراة كتاب صوان الحكمة كتاب تته صوان الحكمة لامام الفاضل ظهير الدين الى الحسن
بن ابي القاسم البيهقي رحمه الله تعالى“

On the other MS. which is in the library of

Mullá Murád is written as follows:-

”كتاب تته صوان الحكمة من تأليف الشيخ الامام ظهير الدين الى الحسن بن ابي القاسم
البيهقي رحمه الله تعالى“

Even Shahrásúrfi who reproduced our author's
in his Nuzhatu'l-Arwáh wa Rawdatu'l-Afráh
Tárikh-i-Hukamáu'l-Islám word for word, taking every

5.
care to conceal his plagiarism, (as we have proved

in chapter VII) has, ~~in his Nuzhatu'l-Arwáh wa Raw-~~
~~datu'l-Afráh~~

~~though very grudgingly and in~~

1. Dozy, Cat. Gr. MSS. Leyden, Vol. II, p. 292,
Cod. 133d fol.

2. Catalogue in the Library of Bashir Aghá, p. 3
No. 494.

3. Catalogue in the Library of Mullá Murád, p. 1
N.1451; but on the MS. itself the number 1408 is wri-
ten. About these two MSS. at Constantinople we kno-
nothing except names, but now, fortunately, I have h-
an opportunity of learning something about them in Be-
through a German Arabic scholar Herr Martin Pilsner
who had recently returned from Constantinople and he
himself seen the MSS. there.

5. Some extracts from the Tárikh-i-Hukamáu'l-Isl-
and the Nuzhatu'l-Arwáh about Umar Khayyám were stat-
in Der Islám, Vol. III, p. 42, by G. Jacob and E.
Wiedmann.

4. Ahlwardt, Cat. Ar. MSS. Ber. Lib. No. 10055.
No. 217.

1.
 al-Imāmu'l-Āfāq Abī Sulaymān Funduq traces his pedi-
 2. gree up to Khuzaymah b. Thābit ^{3.} ~~gush-Shahādātayn~~, one
 of the Companions of the Prophet, and from him upward
 to Shem, son of Noah, the second Ādam — may peace be
 upon them — and he ends the pedigree with the follow-
 ing verse:-

ادليک ابا بنی مجنی بختهم - اذا جئتنا یا کلب الجامع

Date of his Birth,
 and Birthplace.
his

Dhahīru'd-Dīn Abu'l-Hasan was born on Thursday
 4.
 27th of Sha'bān, 499 A.H. = 1105 A.D. in the town

1. Our author calls himself after his grandfather's name "Ibn Funduq", because Abu Sulaymān was the founder of the family of Funduqīs or Hākīmīs. He was summoned by Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī and was offered the post of qādīship, which was not then nominal as is the qādīship of our time.

2. In the British Museum Catalogue "Khuzaymah" which is erroneous. See Irshād, Vol. V, p. 208. Tahsību'l-Asmā, Nawawī, ed. Wüst. p. 227.

3. He was called Zush-Shahādātayn because he had witnessed with 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet, the battles of Jamal and Siffin, and in the latter war he put to death Ibn-Bāshir; then the Prophet incited him to slaughter the wretched anarchist, 'Ammāra, which he did. He also had transmitted thirty-eight ḥadīth; the Prophet was pleased with these things and as Khuzaymah's appreciation made his testimony equal to the witness of two persons he was called "Zush-Shahādātayn". The same description will be found in the most famous and reliable book of Ḥadīth Ṣahīb Bukhārī; also Muḥazzab, beginning of Babu'l-Ihrām bil Ḥajj. (Tahsību'l-Asmā Nawawī, ed. Wüst. p. 227).

4. Irshād, Vol. V, p. 208; Safadī, Vol. XII, p. 6. Brockelmann (Vol. I, p. 324) states the date as being 500 A.H. = 1106 A.D. which is given by Ahlwardt in the Berlin Catalogue (No. 10052-P~~at~~-737) ^{but it could not be considered seriously, because} Abu'l-Hasan himself places 499 A.H. on record.

1.
of Sabzwār in the district of Bayhaq, as he himself
states in the following words:-
2.

مولدى يوم السبت سابع وعشرين شعبان سنة ١١٩٩ في قسبة السابزو
من ناحية بيهق.

His parents left the town in his childhood and
settled down at Shashtamad, a town of the same
district of Bayhaq, where his father had an estate,
which he describes as follows:-
3.

ثم رحلنا الى ناحية ششتامد من قرى تلك الناحية ولوالدي بها ضياع.

His Early 4. Education.

It is an undeniable fact that our author was a
genius. This will be seen from the facts of his
life which follow.

Before he left his birthplace, and whilst he
was yet a youth, our author's education was committed
to the care of a tutor (whose name, however, is not
known) in Sabzwār. With him, he appears to have made
rapid progress in his studies, and to have learnt by
heart a number of books upon various subjects. Too

1. But in the *Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq* he says Shashtamad
(f.21a), to which he has casually referred when the
name of that town occurred: in *Mashārbūt-Tajārīb* he
has written his autobiography. If we assume that
he was born at Shashtamad, then we see that what he
described immediately after (that his parents left
the town and settled down at Shashtamad) means that
he was born in Shashtamad and then transferred to the
same town. Therefore it would appear correct to say
that he was born in Sabzwār, and afterwards trans-
ferred to Shashtamad.

2. *Irshād*, Vol. V. p. 208.

3. See *Mem. 2*.

4. Full details of his education are given in the
Irshād, Vol. V, pp. 208-10; *Ṣafadī*, Vol. XII, ff.
68a, b.

young to understand their import and significance, the books seem to have been explained to him by some one, whether the tutor or some other "guide, philosopher and friend" is not made manifest.

His wide range of knowledge.

Among the boy's studies were the Qur'án, exegesis of the Qur'án, tradition, law, literature, logic, philosophy, lexicography, astronomy, mathematics, poetry and various other subjects, — a formidable list for one so young.

Further it appears that the boy was not at all satisfied with the knowledge he thus acquired and he seems to have sought and obtained help and enlightenment from other learned men of his time.

Qur'anic Exegesis, Tradition, and Law.

For the knowledge of Qur'anic exegesis he seems to have committed to memory *Gharibu'l-Qur'án* of 'Azízi.^{1.} Tradition he studied in 506 A.H. under the famous Abu'Alí Ismá'il b. al-Imám al-Muhammád Ahmád al-Husayn al-Bayhaqí, who was admittedly "the greatest traditionist of his time".^{2.} Again, in 516 A.H. he must have heard *Gharibu'l-Hadith* of al-Khitábi from Imám Muhammád al-Fazári, and *Gharibu'l-Hadith* of Abi 'Ubayd from Imám Ahmád b. Muhammád al-Maydání.^{3.}

1. *Irshád*, Vol. V. p. 208.

2. T.B. f. 106b.

3. *Irshád*, Vol. V. p. 209, *Safadi*, Vol. XII, f. 68a; T.B. f. 94b.

For a knowledge of ~~Muslim~~ law the youth sat under the learned ^TQáju'l-Qudát Abi Sa'd Yahya, who ^{1.}our author says "was angel in man". He also read ^{2.}Kitábu's-Zakát and disputed problems of law.

Lexicography.

To gain a mastery of the language and literature it was necessary, of course, to possess an adequate vocabulary, and to this end our author committed to memory, — so wonderful a memory had he — lexicons of different authors such as Kitábu'l-Majmal fi'l-Lugha. ^{3.}In 514 he read Yanábi'ul-Lugha, by Abú Ja'far Ahmad b. al-Muqrí 'Alí, ^{4.}Qáju'l-Mašádir by the same author, Á'in fi'l-Lugha, Kitábu'l-Mašádir of al-Qáqí as-Zúsaní and Sihábu'l-Lugha by the lexicographer al-Jawharí. ^{5.}

During this period of his education his father died in Jumádá II 517 A.H., but notwithstanding the sad event our author pursued his studies as diligently as ever.

Logic and Philosophy.

Among the subjects ~~and~~ ^{he} studied were logic ^{6.}and philosophy, and to these he seems to have

1. See No. 3. Irshád, Vol.V, p.208.

2. See ~~See No. 3.~~

3. Irshád, Vol. V, p. 208.

4. See n.1.

5. Irshád, Vol. V, p. 209; T.B. ff. 95b; 96b.

6. ^{Ibid.} Irshád, ~~Vol. V~~ p. 212.

attached great importance. For Oriental scholars of those times logic and philosophy were essential, and without a sound knowledge of them, their learning would have been considered incomplete.^{1.} He committed to memory the works of the ~~learned author~~ al-Mikālī, (al-Amīr Abī'l-Faḍl) named Iṣlāḥu'l-Mantiq and Kitāb al-Muntahā, studying philosophy under al-Imām Ibrāhīm al Harrāz al-Mutakallim.^{2.}

Mathematics and Astronomy.

Further he learnt mathematics, algebra and astronomy.^{3.} He then went ~~back~~ to Khurāsān and completed his studies in these subjects under "the teacher of Khurāsān" 'Uthmān b. Jādūkār.^{4.} Later on, in astronomy, as he says, he was "considered to be an authority".^{5.} His knowledge of the subject overflows at places in the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq and the Tārīkh-i-Hukāmau'l-Islām, in both of which, while describing other events he introduces astronomy. For instance, writing about an earthquake occurring in the suburb of Bayhaq he gives astronomical figures,^{6.} also writes astronomically the birth of Avicenna,^{7.}

1. Akhalāq-i-Nāgiri, Majīdī press, p. 125.

2. ~~See n. 1.~~ Irshād, Vol.V, p.208.

3. Irshād, Vol. V, pp. 210,211; Ṣafādi, Vol. XII f.68a.

4. Ibid, p. 210.

5. See n. 2.

6. T.B. f.84b.

7. Tār. Huk. Islām, f. 23a.

Nidhānu'l-Mulk ^{1.}Ṭāṣī, and ~~ṭāṣī~~ ^{2.}'Umar Khayyām.

Dialectics.

Apparently our author was not satisfied with the knowledge he had acquired, and furthermore he desired to excel in discussion and debate. To this end he devoted at least one year (519 A.H.) and during that time satisfied both himself and his ^{3.}teacher of his proficiency.

Homiletics.

As our author possessed great religious knowledge, it was his earnest desire to become a preacher like his forefathers; for all truly religious people deem it their duty to expound their beliefs concerning the Hereafter, and so spread the light of Faith — so far as it lies in their power so to do.

Upon his travels, our author now preached in various cities and held meetings in Merv in the identical school in which he had studied under Abī Sa'd Yahya, and in the ^{great} ~~large~~ Mosque of Merv, preaching ^{4.}on Friday in the Great Mosque of old Nishāpūr, on Tuesday in the Square Mosque, on Sunday in the ^{5.}Mosque of al-Ḥājj.

His preaching, it may be said, was greatly

1. T.B. f.41a.

2. Tār.Huk.Islām, f.66a.

3. Irshād, Vol. V. p. 209.

4. ^{Ibid.} ~~Irshād, Vol. V.~~ p. 209; Safādī, Vol. XII, f.68a.

5. ^{Ibid.} ~~Irshād, Vol. V.~~ p. 210.

admired, even the nobility, the learned, and above all the great wasir Táhir b. Fakhr'u'l-Mulk came to hear him.^{1.} In Nishápúr he was soon granted "Asá" which was the emblem of a recognised preacher of the place, where he stayed until the 1st of Rajab 549 A.H.

History.

Though our author has described in detail the subjects he had gained a thorough knowledge of, he never mentions anything about his knowledge of subjects, such, as, medicine and history. Yet notwithstanding, he is best known as a historian. His- tory appealed to him strongly, and he produced many important works on the subject, from which source were to come later important Arabic and Persian histories, described in the latter part of this Thesis, in detail.

Poetry.

It appears from the recorded facts of our author's life that from his very childhood he had fine poetical taste, and found pleasure in learning by heart diwáns of eminent poets, such as Mutanabbí Hamása and al-Bakhtarí and others.^{3.} His genius for the art of poetry can be inferred from the discussi

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1. Irshád, Vol.V, p.208.
 2. ~~Irshád, Vol.V, p.208~~ Ibid. p. 211.
 3. ~~Irshád, Vol.V, p.208~~ Ibid. p.208; Safadí, Vol. XII, f. 68a.

which took place between him and the great astronomer-poet 'Umar Khayyám, on a verse of Ḥamása. Though the author was very young at that time — being only about eight years of age! — he yet took by far the greater part in the discussion. It is not to be wondered at that a boy with such poetical intuitions should develop later into a great poet and leave a ^{1.} ^{2.} ^{3.} ^{4.} ^{5.} ^{6.} ^{7.} ^{8.} ^{9.} ^{10.} ^{11.} ^{12.} ^{13.} ^{14.} ^{15.} ^{16.} ^{17.} ^{18.} ^{19.} ^{20.} ^{21.} ^{22.} ^{23.} ^{24.} ^{25.} ^{26.} ^{27.} ^{28.} ^{29.} ^{30.} ^{31.} ^{32.} ^{33.} ^{34.} ^{35.} ^{36.} ^{37.} ^{38.} ^{39.} ^{40.} ^{41.} ^{42.} ^{43.} ^{44.} ^{45.} ^{46.} ^{47.} ^{48.} ^{49.} ^{50.} ^{51.} ^{52.} ^{53.} ^{54.} ^{55.} ^{56.} ^{57.} ^{58.} ^{59.} ^{60.} ^{61.} ^{62.} ^{63.} ^{64.} ^{65.} ^{66.} ^{67.} ^{68.} ^{69.} ^{70.} ^{71.} ^{72.} ^{73.} ^{74.} ^{75.} ^{76.} ^{77.} ^{78.} ^{79.} ^{80.} ^{81.} ^{82.} ^{83.} ^{84.} ^{85.} ^{86.} ^{87.} ^{88.} ^{89.} ^{90.} ^{91.} ^{92.} ^{93.} ^{94.} ^{95.} ^{96.} ^{97.} ^{98.} ^{99.} ^{100.} ^{101.} ^{102.} ^{103.} ^{104.} ^{105.} ^{106.} ^{107.} ^{108.} ^{109.} ^{110.} ^{111.} ^{112.} ^{113.} ^{114.} ^{115.} ^{116.} ^{117.} ^{118.} ^{119.} ^{120.} ^{121.} ^{122.} ^{123.} ^{124.} ^{125.} ^{126.} ^{127.} ^{128.} ^{129.} ^{130.} ^{131.} ^{132.} ^{133.} ^{134.} ^{135.} ^{136.} ^{137.} ^{138.} ^{139.} ^{140.} ^{141.} ^{142.} ^{143.} ^{144.} ^{145.} ^{146.} ^{147.} ^{148.} ^{149.} ^{150.} ^{151.} ^{152.} ^{153.} ^{154.} ^{155.} ^{156.} ^{157.} ^{158.} ^{159.} ^{160.} ^{161.} ^{162.} ^{163.} ^{164.} ^{165.} ^{166.} ^{167.} ^{168.} ^{169.} ^{170.} ^{171.} ^{172.} ^{173.} ^{174.} ^{175.} ^{176.} ^{177.} ^{178.} ^{179.} ^{180.} ^{181.} ^{182.} ^{183.} ^{184.} ^{185.} ^{186.} ^{187.} ^{188.} ^{189.} ^{190.} ^{191.} ^{192.} ^{193.} ^{194.} ^{195.} ^{196.} ^{197.} ^{198.} ^{199.} ^{200.} ^{201.} ^{202.} ^{203.} ^{204.} ^{205.} ^{206.} ^{207.} ^{208.} ^{209.} ^{210.} ^{211.} ^{212.} ^{213.} ^{214.} ^{215.} ^{216.} ^{217.} ^{218.} ^{219.} ^{220.} ^{221.} ^{222.} ^{223.} ^{224.} ^{225.} ^{226.} ^{227.} ^{228.} ^{229.} ^{230.} ^{231.} ^{232.} ^{233.} ^{234.} ^{235.} ^{236.} ^{237.} ^{238.} ^{239.} ^{240.} ^{241.} ^{242.} ^{243.} ^{244.} ^{245.} ^{246.} ^{247.} ^{248.} ^{249.} ^{250.} ^{251.} ^{252.} ^{253.} ^{254.} ^{255.} ^{256.} ^{257.} ^{258.} ^{259.} ^{260.} ^{261.} ^{262.} ^{263.} ^{264.} ^{265.} ^{266.} ^{267.} ^{268.} ^{269.} ^{270.} ^{271.} ^{272.} ^{273.} ^{274.} ^{275.} ^{276.} ^{277.} ^{278.} ^{279.} ^{280.} ^{281.} ^{282.} ^{283.} ^{284.} ^{285.} ^{286.} ^{287.} ^{288.} ^{289.} ^{290.} ^{291.} ^{292.} ^{293.} ^{294.} ^{295.} ^{296.} ^{297.} ^{298.} ^{299.} ^{300.} ^{301.} ^{302.} ^{303.} ^{304.} ^{305.} ^{306.} ^{307.} ^{308.} ^{309.} ^{310.} ^{311.} ^{312.} ^{313.} ^{314.} ^{315.} ^{316.} ^{317.} ^{318.} ^{319.} ^{320.} ^{321.} ^{322.} ^{323.} ^{324.} ^{325.} ^{326.} ^{327.} ^{328.} ^{329.} ^{330.} ^{331.} ^{332.} ^{333.} ^{334.} ^{335.} ^{336.} ^{337.} ^{338.} ^{339.} ^{340.} ^{341.} ^{342.} ^{343.} ^{344.} ^{345.} ^{346.} ^{347.} ^{348.} ^{349.} ^{350.} ^{351.} ^{352.} ^{353.} ^{354.} ^{355.} ^{356.} ^{357.} ^{358.} ^{359.} ^{360.} ^{361.} ^{362.} ^{363.} ^{364.} ^{365.} ^{366.} ^{367.} ^{368.} ^{369.} ^{370.} ^{371.} ^{372.} ^{373.} ^{374.} ^{375.} ^{376.} ^{377.} ^{378.} ^{379.} ^{380.} ^{381.} ^{382.} ^{383.} ^{384.} ^{385.} ^{386.} ^{387.} ^{388.} ^{389.} ^{390.} ^{391.} ^{392.} ^{393.} ^{394.} ^{395.} ^{396.} ^{397.} ^{398.} ^{399.} ^{400.} ^{401.} ^{402.} ^{403.} ^{404.} ^{405.} ^{406.} ^{407.} ^{408.} ^{409.} ^{410.} ^{411.} ^{412.} ^{413.} ^{414.} ^{415.} ^{416.} ^{417.} ^{418.} ^{419.} ^{420.} ^{421.} ^{422.} ^{423.} ^{424.} ^{425.} ^{426.} ^{427.} ^{428.} ^{429.} ^{430.} ^{431.} ^{432.} ^{433.} ^{434.} ^{435.} ^{436.} ^{437.} ^{438.} ^{439.} ^{440.} ^{441.} ^{442.} ^{443.} ^{444.} ^{445.} ^{446.} ^{447.} ^{448.} ^{449.} ^{450.} ^{451.} ^{452.} ^{453.} ^{454.} ^{455.} ^{456.} ^{457.}

1. Tār. Huk. Islām, f. 68a.
Chahār Maqāla, pp. 217, 218.
Lit. Hist. Per. Vol. II, p. 254.
Al-Muzaffariya by Professor Zhukovsky,
St Petersburg, 1897, pp. 327-31.
Al-Muzaffariya: Containing a Recent Contri-
bution to the Study of 'Omar Khayyam
by Professor E.D. Ross. J.R.A.S, p. 349.
1898.
2. Irshād, Vol. V. p. 211.
Safadī, Vol. XII, f. 68b.
†.B. f. 122a.

From the above facts we infer that he had an especial liking for Arabic poetry, and accordingly may be taken as correct that his diwān consisted of Arabic verses.

BCM/SH



BCM/SH

CHAPTER II.

His Marriage; His Children.

Our author's erudition brought him fame. A notable member of a well-known and highly respected family, he married the daughter of Shihábu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Mas'úd al-Mukhtár, the governor of Ray. The marriage took place in the year 521 A.H. = 1127^{1.} A.D., an event which he refers to as follows:-

”والتفت بيني وبين الأجل شهاب الدين محمد بن مسعود المختار، وإلى الـرى ثم مشرف
المملكة المصاحبة“

It is certain that children resulted from the union; how many ~~children~~ there were we do not know. We know though, that he complained that he was bound up by marriage and children, as in one place in the autobiography he refers to the death of his son^{2.} Ahmad in 549 A.H.

His Qāḍiship.

Devoted as he was to literary work he did not care to spend time in other pursuits. His fame and learning would not allow him to sit in the corner^{3.} of solitude. He was offered the post of Qāḍiship

1. Irshád, Vol. V. p. 209.

2. Ibid, p. 211.

3. Irshád, Vol. V. p. 210; ṣafadī, Vol. XII, f.68a.

1.
by the kindness of Sultán Sanjar. Here something may be said of the King under whose reign and patronage our author flourished.

Sultán Sanjar.

It was the golden age of Islám. Sultán Sanjar is praised highly by ~~many~~ historians for his firmness of character, regard for the learned, his administration of justice, his piety, and other excellent qualities.

Of this good King's reign perhaps I may quote from the translation of the Táríkh-i-Guzída by Professor R.A. Nicholson, It is as follows, with some omissions, and ^{foot-note} additions:-

"Sanjar was for 20 years ruler of Khurásán, and afterwards for 40 years and 4 months, 'King of the Kings of the world', holding sway from Tartary to Egypt and Syria, and from the Caspian Sea to Arabia Felix, and he was amongst the Kings of Islám what Khusraw parwís was amongst the Sássánians. He won

1. It is suggested by Mirzá Muḥammad Qazwíní, in his edition of the Táríkh-i-Jahán-gúsha (p. 15 n. 9) that our author wrote the Táríkh-i-Bayhaq for Sultán Sanjar but it does not seem to be sound. Though our author has used terms of great respect in reference to the King as he did with the name of 'Abudu'llah b. Táhir (as is usual with authors) it need not be inferred that the book was written especially for the King, otherwise there is no trace of this to be found either in the book itself or in any other works.

2. Translation of the Táríkh-i-Guzída, p. 100. Also see "Islám" p. 47, by Sir E.D. Ross, in which he has given an excellent brief account of Sanjar.

17 out of 19 great battles which he fought. The Caliph Mustarshid conferred on him the titles of Mu'izzu'd-Din, and Burhān Amiri'l-Mu'minin. He placed Bahrāmshāh on the throne of Ghazna, allowed him 1,000 dinars a day. He defeated his nephew Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh, but forgave him and conferred on him the government of the Western provinces, which on Maḥmūd's death, he transferred to Maḥmūd's brother ^TYuguril, and afterwards on another brother, Mas'ūd. In A.H. 524, he took Samarqand from its ruler, Muḥammad.b.Sulaymān, who had defied him, but afterwards reinstated him. In A.H. 530 Bahrāmshāh of Ghazna opposed him, but was reduced to obedience. In A.H. 535 he was defeated at Dashti Qaṭawān near Samarqand by the army of Gurkhān and lost Transoxiana, which passed into the hands of the heathen. It caused heavy losses of the Muslims in this war. In A.H. 543, Bahrāmshāh defeated the Ghūrīs, and sent the head of Sūrī to Sānjar. In A.H. 544 ^{1.} 'Alī Chatrī, ^{2.} whom Sānjar had raised from th

1. The real date was A.H. 547 according to Ibn al-Athīr and the author of the *Chahār Maqāla* (pp. 65, 87) who was himself present at the battle.

2. N.S. Hinzari, but the *Rāḥat al-'ūd* (Supple. Pers. 1314, f. 73) in five places, as well as *Gentil Paris* edition of the *Guzida*, p. 264, gives Chatrī as the correct reading.

position of court-jester to the governorship of Hérat rebelled against him, and joined 'Aláu'd-Dīn Husayn of Ghūr. Sānjar conquered and captured them, and put 'Alī Chatrī to death, but pardoned 'Aláu'd-Dīn and replaced him on the throne of Ghūr. In A.H. 548 Sānjar was taken captive by Ghuzz. Their efforts to reconcile themselves with Sānjar fail, and a battle is fought, in which Sānjar is taken prisoner and his troops are routed, Sānjar is detained by them for four years, while they lay waste Khurāsān and kill or maltreat many of its inhabitants, among them Muḥammad b. Yahyá, to whose death Khāqānī alludes in a celebrated verse.^{1.}

Early in A.H. 551 Sānjar's wife, Turkān Khātūn, died, and Sānjar bribed his custodian, Amīr Ilyās, to help him to escape. By the help of Ahmad b. Qumāj, Governor of Tirmidh, he was conveyed across the Oxus, and in Ramaḍān, A.H. 551, made his way back to Merv. On his arrival there, he fell sick, and died on 26 Rabi' I, A.H. 552, at the age of 72. On the death of Sānjar, Khurāsān was filled with

^{1.} J. B. p. 462.

1. See Ibn Khaliḳān, Wust. p. 74, the quatrain of our author on the death of Muḥammad b. Yahyā, Rāpaty, also cf. T.B. p. 196.

disorder, Khwārazmshāh succeeded in adding parts of it to his domains. The Khān of Samarqand slew the chief of the Qarlugh tribe, who appealed to Alp-Arslān. He besieged Samarqand and restored peace. Seven years later he is attacked by the Qara-Khitay, falls sick, and suffers defeat. He dies on Rajab 9, A.H. 558.^{2.} = 1162 A.D.^{I.}

But to resume; in the month of Jumāda I, 526^{2.} = 1131 A.D., our author became Qāqī of Bayhaq; he grudged spending his time in such a capacity, a great drawback being as Sharīh Qāqī remarks: "When I woke up next morning, I found, that half of the people were angry with me, and I found the task distressing".^{3.} So much so that our author thought it best to resign the position and so leave its shadow far behind him.

His Governorship
and Candidature
for Ministership.

It appears also that our author was Governor of Ray for some time, a fact to which 'Imād refers in the Kharīda and says that his own father related to him that when he went to Ray, just after the

1. Rajab 19, A.H. 560 is the more correct date given in the Jahān-gushā, Ibm'l-Athīr gives A.H. 568

2. Irshād, Vol. V, p. 210; Safadī, Vol. XII, f. 68a

3. ~~Irshād, Vol. V, p. 210.~~ The period of his qāqīship is not exactly known, but it may be fixed, a period of about 5 months, as on the first of Jumāda he became Qāqī and on the first of Shawwāl he went back to Ray, where his father-in-law Shihābu'd-Dīn was Governor. Irshād, Vol. V, pp. 210-211.

catastrophe of Sultán Sanjar with the Ghuzz, he found that one day our author, Sharafu'd-Dín Bayhaqí (according to 'Imád), "who was then governor", went to see 'Imád's father, and in his carriage took him ('Imád's father) to his own house and extended his help to him. Both of them lived in Ray as great friends until the destined separation (some event which is unknown to us) parted them in the year 533. 'Imád further states that our author was also a candidate for the ministry of Sultán Sanjar, but was unsuccessful on account of the battle of the Sultán with the Khitayís, and the former's defeat.^I

**Productivity
of the Author.**

In any case, after resigning from the post of Qádíship, it seems that he devoted himself more than ever to literary pursuits. In proof of this we may refer to the huge amount of work he completed upon all the subjects, described previously. Besides this he wrote books on other subjects, a complete list of which is given in chapter VI. At the same time, we admit our limited knowledge, when we assert which of his books were written first, and which followed. As regards two of them, Lubábu'l-Ansáb wa al-Qábu'l- A'qáb and the Táríkh-i-Bayhaq, we can assuredly say they were completed after the year 449 A.H. = 1154 A.D., for the reason that the author dic

1. Irshád, Vol.V, p.214.

not mention them among the list of his works completed before that time.¹ 'Imād included these books in the list later on and wrote that he found them during his stay in Nishāpūr in the year 613 A.H.² Lubābu'l-Ansār is mentioned in the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq and there is no other book of our author's in which the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq is mentioned, therefore we must assume that the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq is his last production. With regard to the books completed up to the year 449, no trace can be found as to which appeared first.

Date of his
Death.

Having added so large a collection of works to Persian and to Arabic literature, our author, Dhahīru'd-Dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Zayd al-Bayhaqī died in the year 565 A.H. = 1169 A.D.³ This date is agreed upon by his biographers except Brockelmann and Ahlwardt, who suggest the date being about 570 A.H. = 1174⁴ A.D. which, in my opinion, cannot be accepted in the face of what seems reliable evidence. Besides there is another reason for not accepting this opinion. Our author having always been so

1. A full list of our author's works is given in the Irshād, pp. 211-213; Safadī, Vol. XII, ff. 68b, 69a.

2. Irshād, Vol. V, p. 213.

3. Safadī, Vol. XII, f. 68a; Haj. Khal. Vol. III, p. 325, No. 769; Irshād, Vol. V, p. 208; Barthold p. 31. n. 6.

4. Brock. Vol. I, 324. Ahlwardt. Cat. Ar. MSS. Ber. Lib. No. 10052. Pet. 737.

enthusiastically devoted to writing books, it seems inconceivable that he should remain silent for a period of seven years, after completing the *Tárikh-i-Bayhaq* in 563 A.H.

It appears, therefore, that the date of our author's death occurred some time after completing the work, most probably in the year 565 A.H. = 1169 A.D.

**The Author
as Man.**

Abu'l-Hasan was no doubt a man of excellent and high character, and at the same time a veritable Muslim, possessing a vast knowledge of Muslim theology. Any merely mercenary post made no appeal to him. Although he accepted Qádiship reluctantly, he resigned it within a short period.

Respecting, as he did, the finer qualities of men, their learning, their noble birth, it was natural that he should show great respect for Baní Hâshim or Sayyids.

Gentle and righteous to a degree, he yet had praise for those who were inimical to him or even bore active animosity towards him. Further than that we find him magnanimous enough to write elegies upon the deaths of such people, calling them al-Imá¹ al-Aqíl, etc.

1. T.B. f. 140b.

Indeed of so lovable a character was he that his friends almost worshipped him, and loved to be in his company, and even upon their death-beds did not^{1.} forget him.

Contented as he was and not caring for money, he was certainly not tempted to extol the virtues of merely wealthy persons in verse. Nor does 'Imád's father, his great friend, say anything that would persuade me to the contrary.

Originality.

Originality is not given to all men, but it was our author's predominant quality. A manifestation of it can be seen in the "ennobling" titles he gave to various persons, which also display his regard and respect for them. For instance, Fakhru'l-'Ulamá; Shamsu'l-Islám; Najmu'l-A'imma; Najmu'l-Quḍát; Mu'ímu'l-Afáqil; Táju'd-Dunyá Fakhr-ru'l-Islám; Táju'l-Islám, and many others.

He employed these titles in reference only to those authors and learned men who had written very many books or who were greatly famous for their learning as well as other qualities, and who rightly deserved such praise.

His circle of friends.

Among those who received such titles were a few of his personal friends whom he has mentioned in the

1. T.B., f. 137b.

Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq and the *Tārīkh-i-Hukamā'u'l-Islām*.

For example, ar-Ra'is Abu Muhammad al-Mu'allā b. Ahmad al-Bayhaqī, the grandfather of the Qādīs of Sā'adīan of Nishāpūr was one of those who were looked upon as "the pride of Bayhaq". Learned men praised him highly, and even Sūrī b. al-Mu'tar governor of Nishāpūr said that he "had never come across anyone^{1.} more popular and polished than al-Mu'allā Bayhaqī". This learned and good man had a great regard for our author, and visited him daily for a considerable^{2.} period.

Another author was al-Faqīh Ahmad b. 'Alī as-Sūrī al-Bayhaqī, a greatly learned man of Bayhaq, about whom our author says that he (our author) had^{3.} "true friendship for him". He also refers to another friend al-Hakīm Abu'l-Faḍl b. Bayhaqī^{4.} who is different from the famous historian Abu'l-Faḍl Bayhaq.

His Religion.

As for the religion of our author, from the material at hand, and from facts in the *Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq* and the *Tārīkh-i-Hukamā'u'l-Islām*, it appears that he was a Ḥanīfi'ite. We assume this because of the conception that when the name of the prophet is

1. T.B. f.100a.

2. See n.1.

3. T.B. f.139a, 62b.

4. ^{ibid.} T.B. f.139a, 62b.

mentioned, after his name, he completes it with the following:- ^{صلی اللہ علیہ} (peace be upon him) and does not add the term ^{وآلہ} (and peace be upon his children) nor does he write high praises for 'Alī, the son-in-law of the prophet, as is usual with the Shī'ites.

^{1.} According to Nuzhatu'l-Qulūb and Mu'jamu'l-Buldān Sabzwār was noted for Shī'ites, who manifested great love and respect for 'Alī — as Mawlāna Rūmī refers to in the following verse:

Our author was also born there; had he been Shī'ite he would certainly have praised 'Alī as other Shī'ites did, and would have mentioned him as the best of Khalifs. ~~His writing proves to the contrary.~~ In

the preface of the Tārīkh-i-Hukamāu'l-Islām he extols all four Khalifs, and states that all of them were devout and blessed by God. He writes of them as follows:-

ثم السلام على صحابة وخلفاء الراشدين من بعد لا فان كل خير وبركة -

Another usual thing with the Shī'ites is that they have ever an earnest longing to visit Karbalā, and our author expressed his fervid desire to visit Madīna. Moreover no trace of him is to be

1. N. 4. p. 149.

2. Mu'jamu'l-Buldān, Vol. II, p. 346.

3. Tār. Huk. Islām, p. 16.

found in *Majálisu'l-Mu'minín* of Míru'llah Shustarí. We therefore find no reason to call him Shí'ite.

Nor alternatively, can we consider him a Sháfi'i to which neither he nor the book *Tabaqátu'sh-Sháfi'iy* of 'Abdu'l-wahháb Subkí refers. Therefore we have every reason to believe him to have been a Hanífi'ite

The Importance of the Author.

Judging from authentic material available, our author seems to have been one of the most eminent men of learning of his time. He wrote some eighty
1. books — in Arabic and in Persian — most of them appearing to have been of a high degree of excellence. Included in the foregoing, were works comprising three or four volumes, and also commentaries upon the works such as *Kitábu'n-Naját*, of Avicenna, *Hamása*, Bakhtarí *Maqámát-í-Harírí* and others.

Our author appears also to have been conversant with Syriac, in which language he replied to a query of the Georgian King, Dáwúd b. Ya'qúb, "the Sword of Christ", addressed to Sultán Sanjar, being commis-
2. sioned by him to make the reply.

Throughout most of his historical work, we find our author reliable in his account and descriptions of authors, learned men and contemporary events, or matters that took place anterior to his time. He

1. *Irshád*, Vol. V, pp. 211-13; *Şafadí*, Vol. XII, ff. 68b, 69a.

2. T.B. f.94a; *Ency. Islám*, Vol. I, p. 592.

was very punctilious as to days, months and years, and so careful, that in stating a number he always wrote that number in words as well as in figures.

His memory was prodigious and trustworthy, and we do not find him careless and erring in descriptive matter like Nidhāmī 'Arūqī in his Chahār Maqála.^{1.} Convinced of his accuracy, many writers of important Arabic and Persian histories, have quoted from his works.

We find our author's Mashāribu't-Tajārib quoted in Wafāyātu'l-A'yān, Irshād, Kāmil, Tārīkh-i-Jahāngushā, Tārīkh-i-Guzīda, and other books, to which we have referred in chap. VIII.

His Tārīkh-i-Hukamāu'l-Islām was reproduced by the famous author Sharazūrī, and other authors have borrowed from the book (see chapter II of This Thesis).

Our author had met 'Umar in the year 507 A.H. =^{2.}

1. Chahār Maqála, preface, pp. ٢-٤

2. In Chahār Maqála (p. 217) and in al-Muzaffariy J.R.A.S. 1928 A.D. p. 357) the extract quoted about 'Umar from the Firdawsu't-Tāwārīkh gives the year 505 A.H. which is incorrect, for Abu'l-Hasan himself writes the year 507 (see Tār.Huk.Islām, f.68b). This extract from the above mentioned book is also given in Prof. Browne's Literary History of Persia (Vol. II p. 254) but there the date is not mentioned.

1112 A.D. and discussed poetry and geometrical problem with him.

Further, it may be said that Hājī Khalifā calls him Imām¹; Yāqūt²; Ibnu'l-Athīr³ and Juwaynī⁴ quote him as their first and foremost source, acknowledging him a great authority for the Khwārazmshāhī period. 'Imād praises him immensely⁵, and quotes his father's opinion who said that "he never knew his (our author's) equal learning and ability." Yāqūt gives the longest account. Safadī also gives a detailed account⁷. From all this our author's position in the literary world can be judged.

1. Hāj.Khal. Vol.III, p.325, No.5769.
2. Irshād, Vol.II, p.314. Mu'jamu'l-Buladān, Vol.I, p. 225.
3. Kamil, Vol.XI, P.249.
4. Jahān-gusha, Vol.II, pp. 1-21.
5. Kharīda, Vol.II, ff.244b, 190a. Irshād, Vol.V, p.
6. Irshād, Vol.V, p.208-219.
7. Safadī, Vol.XII, ff. 68a-69b.

His family.

Our author, descended from the Hákímí family on his paternal side, and of Bayhaqís on his maternal side, both sides of the family being learned, well-known and honoured in the courts of the kings and ministers of their time, as we shall show later on in dealing with their lives.

As is stated by Professor Muḥammad Shafí' of Lahore, our author did not belong to the family of Qáqían.^{1.} He has, in the book, described many families of Bayhaq, such as Mukhtárian, Khatíbian, Mikálian and others. He refers to his connection with the family of Muhallab b. Abí Ṣufra al-Asad b. 'Umar Muzlaqia, inasmuch as Muhallab, descended from 'Umrán b. 'Umar b. Muzlaqia, and our author was descended from Tha'laba b. 'Umar b. Muzlaqia, whose descendants are styled in the Thimáru'l-Qulúb of Abu Maḡfúr Tha'alibí as the "Sword of God".^{2.}

Our author also described his relation with the family of Badílian saying that, Badílian were the descendants of Badíl b. Waráqá'al-Khuzá'í, and forefathers of our author's father, Shamsu'l-Islám, on his mother's side, belonged to the same line. He

1. Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, November 1928, Vol. V, p. 76.

2. T.B. f. 48a.

3. See n. 3.

also made the fact clear that "there was a different family of Badīlian of Isfārayīn, the descendants of Badīl b. Muḥammad b. Asad al-Ḥārithī al-Isfārayīnī^{1.} who came from Hurand?

He has also mentioned in brief the family of Qāḍian,^{2.} but did not include himself among them. This seems to indicate that he had no connection with this family, but had with the Ḥākimīs, which he clearly states as follows:- "After this (Muhallabī family) I have described in the book (the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq) the family of Ḥākimīs or Funduqīs, who were my ancestors, and who were the descendants of Khuzāyma-b.-Thābit Zush-Shahādātayn, the Companion of the Prophet and their original abode was the town of Siwār near Bust".^{3.}

As regards our author's family on his mother's side, they were Bayhaqīs, and of them he writes as under:- "Al-Bayhaqīyyūn; these people were pious and learned, and the greater part of Rub' Zambah was their native place; they were my maternal ancestors and ar-Ra'īs, al-'Ālim, Abu'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. Abi'l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn..., al-Bayhaqī was my grandfather on this side".^{4.}

1. T.B. f.78a.

2. ~~T.B.~~ ^{Ibid.} f.73b.

3. ~~T.B.~~ ^{Ibid.} f.57b.

4. ~~T.B.~~ ^{Ibid.} f.61b.

Just as the Oriental College Magazine was mistaken, so has Professor Barthold very much exaggerated, in his article in the Encyclopaedia of Islām al-Bayhaqī (our author) that, "nothing is known either from his own work or from other sources of the career of this author".^{1.}

I wonder at this statement, for there is plenty of material existing in books, which we have set forth in detail. Moreover there are to be found details of our author's life and of his forefathers throughout his own existing books, Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq and Tārīkh-i-Ḥukamāu'l-Islām, from which we have quoted in many places in this Thesis.

His grandfather.

From the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq the Professor makes the following statement: "As to his family, he (our author) tells us that his grandfather Abu Sulaymān Funduq (419 A.H.) was summoned as qāqī and muftī 'ba qaqā wa fatwā dāden', from Siwār near Bust to Nishāpūr by Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī and his wazīr Abu'l-Ḥasan Maymandī, and afterwards on giving up the office acquired an estate in the district of Bayhaq".^{2.} Further we learn that he bought several farms in the village of Sarmastāna and settled down

1. Ency. Islām, Vol. I, p. 592.

2. T.B. f.57b; Ency. Islām, Vol. I, p. 592.

there. He was for a time Qāqī of that well-known place Bustām, ~~where~~ where the famous ṣūfī Bāyazīd was born, ~~and of the latter town~~ Dāmghān, — after whose name the celebrated poet Mamūchihri¹ is known, — the post being managed by his deputies. Abu Sulaymān had a great influence in the court of the minister of his time Nidhām u'l-Mulk, to whom he had once recommended Abu'l-Ḥasan Pindār, who was accordingly¹ favoured.

Great and learned men appreciated his learning, which they expressed by establishing lasting memorials for him. For example, ~~as~~ as-Shaykh u'r-Ra'īs Abu'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. Muḥammad, a greatly wealthy and learned man of Bayhaq wished to leave behind him some sort of memorial, and upon reflection decided to erect four colleges for the followers of the Imāms of the four schools of Islām. The College of Ḥanifi'ite he named after Abu Sulaymān, and it was still in² existence in our author's time.

So honoured and learned was Abu Sulaymān that several contemporary poets composed verses extolling his virtues, among them being Ustād Ya'qūb, who wrote an elegy upon the death of Abu Sulaymān, praising

1. T.B. f.45b.

2. *Ibid.*
T.B. f.113a.

his great erudition, calling him Imám, Stár, and^{1.} lamenting deeply his death.

This particular grandparent was also vastly admired by men of divers religious beliefs, and of other communities. For instance, al-Hakím Muḥammad al-Fakhrí also known as Muḥammad Ḥasan, a Jew, penned an impressive poem upon his death, in which he eulogized his great abilities and wide knowledge, and referred to the grief of the inhabitants of Bayhaq at his loss.^{2.}

Upon the death of Abu Sulaymán, his brother al-Ḥasan (480 A.H.) became Qáqí of Bayhaq and Astarábád in the year 530 A.H. about whose learning the famous Imám Maydání (tutor of our author) observed that "he (Maydání) was as a lake, whereas al-Ḥasan ~~(was as a lake)~~ was as an ocean".^{3.}

So well-known was this grandparent for his knowledge of law that he was often consulted upon knotty points and intricate fatwás (judgements).^{4.}

It may be stated here that he held also the office of Qáqiship of Nishápúr and Bayhaq. When he set out for the Ḥajj the Court of the Sultán

1. T.B. f.114a.

2. ^{Ibid.} ~~T.B.~~ f.152a.

3. Ibid. f. 60b.

4. Ibid. f. 58a.

Tughril Beg b. Miká'il b. Saljúq issued a letter of introduction and recommendation to the minister of the government az-Zakí b. Abdu'l-Malik in which he and his father were extolled highly.^{1.}

He had married the daughter of Imám Yúsuif whose learned son Abdu'l-Azís had established a school, at which Amír of -Khurásán Muḥammad b. Ibráhím Saymjúrí used to visit him every Thursday.^{2.}

His father.

Professor Barthold, about our author's father from the Táríkh-i-Bayhaq quotes, "Shamsu'l-Islám Abu'l-Qásim Zayd was born on the 1st of Shawwál 447 A.H. = 24th December, 1055 A.D., died on 27th Djumádá II 517 A.H. = 23rd August, 1173 A.D., and that he spent twenty years in Bulkhárá".^{3.}

Abu'l-Qásim was a man of much learning and was often consulted when great religious problems arose. In one place in the Táríkh-i-Bayhaq he says "When I returned from Bulkhárá to Bayhaq a meeting was held in order to solve the problem as to how the wealth and loot of the country of non-believers was to be distributed". Everyone present at the meeting had a voice in the matter, but I myself was asked to

1. ~~See n.34~~ T.B. f.60b.

2. ^{Ibid.} T.B. f.59a.

3. ^{Ibid.} ~~T.B.~~ f.62b; Ency. Islám, Vol. I, p. 592.

deliver my opinion first — which I did, my knowledge and powers of description seemed to amaze the audience".^{1.}

He was undoubtedly a man of great abilities, and this fact seems supported by books being submitted to him for his opinion and correction. For instance, 'Aḍḍu'd-Dīn Fārmurz b. 'Alī, Malik of Yazd, submitted to him his work called Bahjatū't-Tawhīd for correction.^{2.} In appreciation of his learning, a new "Mimbar" or chair was founded in the school where he used to preach.^{3.}

He was revered too, by persons of high degree, and we find the Amīr Sialshī asking his blessing before going to the battle field.^{4.}

It often happens that buildings and towns are named after famous persons, and so it was that a maqbarā or cemetery was named after his father.^{5.}

But it is not always that the material things of this earth persist; immortality, so far as it can be transmitted by man, can live within a poem or within the covers of books. Upon the inauguration

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1. ^{T.B.} ~~Ms. B.~~ f.121b.
 2. Tār. Huk. Islām, f.65a; Haj.Khal. Vol. II, p. 73, No. 1958.
 3. T.B. f.163a.
 4. ^{Ibid.} ~~Ms. B.~~ f.160b.
 5. Ibid. f.94b.

of the "chair" aforesaid, we find a qaṣida in which
 1.
 Abu Yahyá praises highly our author's father.

The learned and pious Fakhrū'l-'Ulamá Abu
 'Abdu'llah, who had been praised by great men of
 letters, composed many verses in praise of Abú'l-
 Qásim and his grandfather, saying that they were
 2.
 unequalled.

Once Abu'l-Qásim went to al-Imám al-Ḥusayn b.
 Abu'l-'Abbás al-Fawzán, a great man and ^{traditionist} ~~unradical~~ of
 Bayhaq, who was holding a meeting, when the former
 arrived there, the latter stopped the meeting and
 composed two verses extemporarily in the former's
 praise, denoting the highest regard and respect for
 3.
 him.

Khwája Ra'ís, al-Ḥusayn b. Ahmad ad-Darráj
 wrote a beautiful elegy on the death of Abu'l-Qásim
 4.
 which ranks among his best poetry. The foregoing
 were a few who wrote qaṣidas and verses in praise of
 our author's forefathers; we omit others for reasons
 of space.

Abu'l-Qásim Zayd was himself a great poet, wrote
 verses, qaṣidas, elegies, and sometimes he composed

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1. T.B. f.153a.
 2. Ibid., f.138b.
 3. Ibid., f.139b.
 4. Ibid., f.153.

verses extemporarily. Once Amīr Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Mudhaffar built a tavern and requested Abi'l-Qāsim to compose a quatrain to engrave upon the building; he complied with the request and composed a quatrain extemporarily.^{1.} Abu'l-Qāsim's detailed account was given in the *Siaqatu't-Tārīkh* by Imām Abu'l-Ḥasan b. 'Abdu'l-Ḡhāfir al-Fārsī in the *Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq* by Abu Ṣāliḥ al-Khuwārī.^{2.}

His family on his mother's side.

As we have said previously, our author was descended from the Bayhaqī family on his mother's side. His maternal grandfather, ^{Mi. b. al-Ḥusayn} al-Bayhaqī (483 A.H.), prominent among the great and learned men of his time, was a poet of no mean order, and some of his verses are quoted in the *Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq*.

He appears to have been everywhere respected, and not least in the Court of the minister Abu Naṣr al-Kundurī. Ever firm in his refusal to accept gifts of any kind, he led a life of calm contentedness. By this minister, his advice was sought upon many occasions, and was accepted gladly, and acted upon.^{3.} He had also private correspondence with another minister, Abu'l-'Alā Muḥammad b. 'Alī, who wrote many letters to him.^{4.}

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1. ^{J.B.} ~~Ibid.~~ f. 82b.
 2. ^{J.B.} ~~Ibid.~~ f. 61a.
 3. Ibid. f. 63b.
 4. See n. 1.

Among his family he numbered the distinguished author, Abu Bakr Khwárazmí, whom Haft Iqlím considered "the greatest author of Bayhaq" who was also a tutor of Sultán Mahmúd.^{1.}

Some relatives of his were superintendent of finances,^{2.} minister,^{3.} and delegate in the Samanid government.^{4.} Ismá'il b. Ibráhím ad-Diwání was also a relative, whom the historian Abu'l-Faql Bayhaqí has mentioned in the Táríkh-i-Mahmúdian,⁵ and upon whose death the great qádis, and noblemen of the town and the Minister of that time, Mudhaffar Narghasí, called personally at the house to offer condolences with the family and relations.

His mother.

Not only were the male members of his family learned, his own mother (549 A.H.) was particularly gifted and learned, in religious studies — in tafsír, hadíth, fiqh, etc. She was háfidh of the Qur'án,^{6.} a fact which speaks for itself.

It will be seen then from the foregoing that our author descended from a family of great

1. Haft Iqlím p. 1374 (Abu Bakr Khwárazmí, it may be stated, was a cousin of Muhammad b. Jarír Tabarí the famous historian). T.B. 61b).

2. T.B. f. 62a.

3. Ibid. f. 62b.

4. See n. 2.

6. Irshád, Vol. V. p. 211.

5. No reference of this is to be found in the existing part of the Táríkh-i-Bayhaqí.

distinction whose members were almost all of them gifted and learned, and of whom "people of Bayhaq were rightly proud.

We find our author writing of them in the *Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq* thus:- "They were great men of learning, strict Muhammadans, followed the teaching of the Qur'án, and Hadith; were offered high positions by the Kings of their times, and they ever kept aloof from all covetousness and all worldly temptations".^{1.}

1. T.B. f.2b.

PART II

THE BOOK

CHAPTER III.

The Importance of the Táríkh-i-Bayhaq.

As regards the Táríkh-i-Bayhaq, it has a unique position in Persian history. It can safely be said that concerning the District of Bayhaq there exists no other ~~written~~ ^{except} ~~the only source of information~~ the Táríkh-i-Bayhaq. The district is all the more important because of the many eminent erudite personalities it has produced. Not without reason was called 'Tihámatu's Şughrá'¹ (small Ka'ba; in those days most people especially Muhammadans considered Ka'ba the centre of learning). The book also gains in importance for the reason that its author was a native of the place, and was therefore the more qualified to deal with its history.

Had the valuable work remained undiscovered and unknown, the great error contained in the Táríkh-i-Jahán-Gushá-i-Juwaynî, where its writer states that our author's Masháribu't-Tajárib wa Ghawáribu'l-Ghará'ib was a continuation of Tajáribu'l-Umam of Ibn-Miskawayh², would still remain uncorrected, and would have for ever misled its readers. For this important elucidation thanks are due to Professor Barthold who has used the Táríkh-i-

1. T.B. f.162a.

2. Jahán-Gushá, Vol.II, p.1.

Bayhaq as an authoritative source for his "epoch-making" work: "Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion", and thus revealed the Masháribu't-Tajárib was a continuation of the Táríkh-i-Yamíní of 'Utbi, not of Tajáribu'l-Umam of Ibn Miskawayh.¹ The same fact is affirmed by Mirzá Muhammad Qazwíní while editing the Táríkh Jahán-gushá-i-Juwayníní². The Professor has also generously drawn upon the Táríkh-i-Bayhaq for his essay "Zur Geschichte der Safaviden",³ and his article in the Encyclopaedia of Islám on Abu' Bayhaqí, the historian.⁴ So impressed with our author's book the Professor, and so concerned at the fact that it was virtually unread, that he, in contributing an article to the Encyclopaedia of Islam on Bayhaqí (our author), thus refers to the importance of the Táríkh-i-Bayhaq : "It is really worth editing as a source of information on the history of the culture of Bayhaq".⁵ He then goes on to express his regret for "the entire neglect of such work, which is not even mentioned in the "Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie".

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1. Barthold, p.31. Ency. Islám, Vol.1. p.592. T.B. f.12a.
 2. Jahán-Gushá, Vol.II, p.1,n.2.
 3. Orientalische Studien, Festschrift ~~zum 70ten~~ Nöldeke, Vol.I, p.175.
 4. Ency. Islám, Vol.I, p.592.
 5. See n.4.

The Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq was also utilized by Mīrza Muḥammad in his edition of Chahār-Maqāla,¹ he gives the correct name and a sketch of the famous author Abu 'Alī Sallāmi, which was quoted from Sallāmi's book Kitābu'th-Thār. So also has Dr. Nidhāmu'd-Dīn ^{utilized the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq,} in the Introduction to the Jawāmi'u'l-Hikāyat of al-'Awfi.²

Through the Dr., who had the honour of being a pupil of the late Professor Browne, I have learnt the Professor declared that the work Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq was "an epoch-making one."

We have reason to believe that Mr. Muḥammad Ṣiddīq, who is studying in the University of London for the degree of Ph.D., his subject being the Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirī of Abu'l-Faḍl Bayhaqī, considers the information which the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq contains about al-Bayhaqī, "the most authentic and the most important in existence."

~~A book of our author's named Tafaṭṭilu't-Tafṭīl 'Alā l-lisān Ṣufaylu'l-'Arā' is³ is not mentioned by any other author except by our author himself in the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq.~~

1. Chahār Maqāla, p. 125.

2. Jawāmi', p. 60.

3. ~~T.B. f. 135a.~~

The Táríkh-i-Bayhaq, I think, is the book Ḥamdu'llah Mustawfī, had in view in writing his well-known history, the Táríkh-i-Guzidah, as was the case with the second volume of *Jāmi'u't-Tawárikh*,¹ which deals with general history.

The headings of all the chapters of the two books dealing the details of Qazwīn, I find, are identical. My suspicion grows stronger when I notice that Ḥamdu'llah had utilized another of our author's universal history, *Masháribu-t-Tajárib*.²

As regards the Táríkh-i-Bayhaq, that part of the book which deals with the kings is more or less described in every history, the rest of the book being devoted particularly to Bayhaq, material which could not be of any use to a historian in dealing with other towns. But the detailed system of the Táríkh-i-Bayhaq was quite a good one, and therefore liable to imitation, and this eventually happened. For instance, our author describes in detail the House of Nidhāmu'l-Mulk; Ḥamdu'llah describes in detail the House of Mudhaffar; our author mentions Imāms, traditionalist shaykhs, saints, principal buildings of Bayhaq, its etymology and other things, so does Ḥamdu'llah.

We quote hereunder chapter-headings from the Táríkh-i-Bayhaq which are all of them to be found in the Táríkh-i-Guzidah.

1. T.G. preface, p.xiii.

2. T.G. preface, p.8.

TÁRÍKH-I-BAYHAQ.

The House of Nidhāmu'l-Mulk.
Biographies of 'Ulámá, Imáms,
"Readers" of the Qur'án,
traditionists, Shayks, Holy men, doctors,
and divines..

Poets in Persian and in Arabic.

Etymology of Bayhaq, its
limits, divisions, and its
founder.

Its principal buildings.

Muslim Conquest of Bayhaq.

Its aqueducts, mosques, and
suburbs.

Notable men of different
families and classes who were
born in Bayhaq, or resided in
it.

Tribes and families of Bayhaq.

TÁRÍKH-I-GUZIDAH.

The House of Mudhaffar.
Biographies of learned
Imáms and Mujtahids,

"Readers" of the Qur'án,
traditionists, Shayks,
men, doctors and divines.

Poets of a) Arabia, b)

The City of Qazwin, its
and etymology.

Its principal buildings

Its subjugation, and oc-
sion by the Arabs.

Its aqueducts, rivers,
mosques, tombs, and sul-

Notable men of differer-
ent classes who have reside-
d in it or visited it.

Tribes and families of
Qazwin.

We may also add that the *Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq* contains the earliest account of Abu'l-Faql Bayhaqī, the eminent historian. Our author, having ^{lived} ~~been born~~ some thirty years after the death of the historian, is able to give first-hand information about the famous *Tārīkh-i-Nāsirī*, which he states comprised more than thirty volumes. Moreover, our author was the only person to peruse some of those volumes, in the libraries of Sarakhs; in the school of Khātūn Mahd 'Irāq in Nishāpūr; and also volumes in the possession of various private persons. As regards the rest of them, he says that they were not to be found.

About the total number of the volumes, other authors state that there were thirty, though we gather not one of those authors had ever seen them, about which they have nothing further to say.

J. Dowson is right when he suggests "*Firishta* evidently refers to the author when he speaks of *Mujalladāt* of Abu'l-Faql, at the beginning of *Mahmūd's* reign; but it may be doubted if he ever saw the work".¹ ~~but then~~ ^{Further} Dowson remarks, "Though the work was well-known to historians, none had seen it, and a large portion of it seems to be irrecoverably lost".

The above assumption is, of course, affirmed by our author's statement, who also gives the correct date of Bayhaqī's death (470 A.H. = 1077 A.D.),

1. Elliot, Vol. II, p. 54.

Our author further adds an important piece of information, stating that Bayhaqī, besides the history, composed a hand-book for officials, under the title of Zīnatu'l-Kuttāb, "an unequalled work of its sort", and furnished some interesting extracts from the book in the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq, "otherwise quite unknown".¹

The other book, after the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq, which mentions Abu'l-Faql Bayhaqī, is the Jawāmi'u'l-Ḥikāyāt wa Lawāmi'u'r-Riwayāt (625 A.H. - 1227 A.D.) of Awfī, who quotes from Bayhaqī Tārīkh, two facts; one about Sabuktigin's concern for the deer the other about Abu Sahl Zawzani's plotting during the early part of the reign of Maṣ'ūd, in the capital of Ghazna.²

Then Minhāj in the Ṭabaqāt (658 A.H. - 1259 A.D.), states "Imām Abu'l-Faql Bayhaqī relates in the Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirī that Sultān Maḥmūd said his grandfather was called "Karabakham".³ In another place Minhāj writes, "according to Abu'l-Faql Bayhaqī Naṣr Sirāj was a trader."⁴

In the same year (658 A.H.- 1258 A.D.) it is stated by Juwaynī in the Jahān-gushā, that upon Maḥmūd's return from Somnāt, one of his officers killed a dragon "30 yards long and four yards broad."⁵

1. T.B. f.101b; also see Ency.Islām, Vol.I, p.592.

2. Introduction to the Jawāmi, p.63.

3. Elliot. p.266.

4. Ibid. p.267.

5. Jahān-gushā, Vol.II, p.44.

Hamdu'llah, in the *Tārīkh-i-Guzida* (730 A.H. - 1329 A.D.), has referred to Mujalladdt of Bayhaqi, in dealing with the Ghaznawid reign.¹

Di'au'd-Din Barni (758 A.H. - 1357 A.D.), in the folio written by him and annexed to the *Jawāmi'u't-Tawārīkh*,² criticizes Rashid d-Din for not making Abu'l-Fadl Bayhaqi his authority for the Ghaznawid period.³ After this, Khwand Mir in the preface of *Rawṭuṣ -Ṣafa*, 929 A.H. - 1522 A.D.), mentions Bayhaqi among his sources.⁴

Muṣliḥu'd-Din Lāri mentions Bayhaqi's name when he refers to his *Tārīkh*, in *Mir'ātu'l-Adwār wa Mirqātu'l-Akhdār*,⁵ (979 A.H. - 1571 A.D.), under the name of *Tārīkh-i-'Al-i-Sabuktigin*.

Abu'l-Fadl, in the *A'in-i-Akbari*, (1006 A.H. - 1579 A.D.), merely mentions the name of Bayhaqi and his *Tārīkh*.⁶

Khāki Shirāzi states in the *Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh*⁷ (1021 A.H. - 1612 A.D.) the date of Bayhaqi's death as 470 A.H.

1. T.-G. p. 396.

2. Rieu's Cat.Per.MSS. Br.Mus. Or.1684, f.258a.

3. Elliot. Vol.II, p.53.

4. Rieu's Cat.Per.MSS. Br.Mus. Or.1649, f.6a.

5. Ibid. Add. 7650, f.65.

6. See n.3.

7. Cat.Per.MSS. Br.Mus.Or. 1649, f.95a.

4

Hayder Rāzi (1026 A.H. - 1617 A.D.), Firishtā, (1033 A.H. - 1223 A.D.), utilize the Tārīkh-i-Nāqiri for the Ghaznawid period and Jahāngir in his Memoirs,¹ (1040 A.H. - 163 A.D.), and Hājī Khalifa² (1176 A.H. - 1762 A.D.), refer to Bayhaqi when they mention his book under different titles.

B.Dorn, in an article, in Das Asiatisches Museum,³ (1846), on the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaqi, takes the date of Bayhaqi's death from the Majmal of Faṣihī.

In 1862, Bayhaqi's Tārīkh was edited by W.N.Lees in Calcutta, in Bibliotheca Indica Series.

J.Dowson wrote a detailed article on the book in Sir H.M. Elliot's History of India,⁴ (1869), basing his information upon some of the above mentioned works.

Rieu, in the Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum (1879), also based his entry upon the same works.

The Tārīkh-i-Bayhaqi was also published in Tehrān in 1889-90.

Professor Browne mentions Bayhaqi in his Literary History of Persia, (Vol.I, 1902), in only one place, and that in a footnote.⁶

1. Elliot. Vol.II, p.53.

2. Hāj.Khal. Vol.II, pp.508, 580.

3. Das Asiatisches Museum, p.668.

4. Elliot. Vol.II, pp. 53-154.

5. Rieu's Cat.Per.MSS. Br.Mus. p.159.

6. Lit.His.Per. Vol.I, p.33, n.1.

Professor Barthold's article in the Encyclopaedia of Islām (1913), on Abu'l-Faḍl Bayhaqī is chiefly based upon the information available in the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq.

The last mention of Bayhaqī is made by Dr. Nidhāmu'd-Dīn in his Introduction to the Jawāmi'u'l-Hikāyāt of 'Awfī², (1929). The Dr. has discussed at length the Tārīkh-i-Nāḡirī, as it was source of 'Awfī's Jawāmi'u'l-Hikāyāt.

Our author has also given in the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq a lengthy account of the great Wazīr Nidhāmu'l-Mulk and his descendants he had lived ~~quite~~ near to the period of the Wazīr, whose assassination occurred in 485 A.H. Though a reference to Nidhāmu'l-Mulk is to be found in the Chahār Maqāla, which may be said to be the earliest, it ~~is~~ not ~~much~~ ^{much} to throw light on the life of the Wazīr, whom the author of the Chahār Maqāla styles as "Khawā'ī Buzurg". In one reference he mentions the Wazīr's distaste for verse³; in another, he refers to his counsellor, the astronomer, Ḥakīm Māsīlī⁴.

After the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq, mention of the Wazīr is made in Rāḥatu's-Ṣudūr⁵.

C. Schefer, in his ^{Supplementary} edition of Siāsat Nāma⁶ has collected biographical sketches of the Wazīr from several authors, such as Hindushāh, Khwand-amīr, Ibn Khallikān and others; but these do not give such information about the Nidhamu'l-Mulk's descendants as is to be found in the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq.

1. Ency. Islām, Vol. I, p. 592.

2. Jawāmi', p. 60.

3. Chahār Maqāla, p. 41.

4. Ibid, p. 61.

5. Rāḥat, p.

6. Per. Cat. Br. Mus. No.

A comprehensive The Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq is not only a source of information on the history of the culture of Bayhaq, it contains also other important details concerning the topography of the district, gives etymologies ~~of the towns~~ of Bayhaq, Sabz Nishápúr, and of other places. It states the divisions of the district; particulars of its taxation; and mentions the founders of these towns, with other details which we have ^{given} ~~mentioned~~ in chapter V.

Date of its completion. Opinions differ about the date and year of completion of the book, but as will be seen hereunder, there is little doubt that it was completed on the 4th of Shawwál, 563 A.H. = 1167 A.D.¹

The year 563 is generally agreed upon, but the MS in the State Library of Berlin gives the year of its completion as 888 A.H. = 1483 A.D., which is absurd, that date being 320 years after the author's death.

Similarly the opinions of Brockelmann and the entry in the British Museum Catalogue are slightly at variance. Brockelmann and the British Museum Catalogue give the date as 5th of Shawwál. As regards Brockelmann, we ^{could not find} ~~cannot find~~ upon what authority he bases his statement, and he does not mention it. With regard to the British Museum Catalogue

1. Rieu, ^{Suppl.} Cat. Per. MSS. Br. Mus. p.60; T.B.f. E. Kahl. Tashkent Lib. Cat. Ar. Per. Tur. MSS, No. 9a, p. 8. Tashkent MS. f. 127a; Barthold, p. 31, n. 6.

authority is also not quoted, but it is probably based upon the information in the book itself, the MS being in the possession of that institution; but in the MS. itself the date of completion is ^{clearly} given as 4th of Shawwāl. If ^{entry} that is based upon Brockelman's opinion, it can not be accepted in the face of that ^{date} to be found in the book itself. Moreover, the same date is written on the MS. in the Russian Public Library of Tashkent.

The year 563 A.H. can also be confirmed by the dates mentioned in the book. There are many events which are described as having taken place in the year 560 and 561, and there are also a few other events which took place later on in the year 562. In that year, in the month of Sha'bān Qāḍī Dīn Abu'l-Ḥasā 'Alī b. Ḥamza died.¹ The other event was a battle, fought on the western side of Sabzwār, between Mu'ayyid-Dawla Malik-'l-Mash and Alp'ī-Arslān Khwārazm-shāh.² In the month of Ramaḍān 562 the name of ~~the~~ king Alp'ī Arasan Khawarazm-shāh was announced the Khutba as being the ruler of Nishāpūr.³ There is no other event mentioned after this year. Had the book been completed long after, ^{no doubt} other facts would have been included.

Therefore, I am quite convinced that the date of completion was the 4th of Shawwāl, 563 A.H. = 1167 A.D.

Sources of
the
Book.

It may be said that the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq is not altogether an original work, its principal authorities being ~~various~~.

1. T.B. f.162a.

2. Ibid. f.166b.

3. ~~Ibid.~~ f.149a.

Tárikh-i-Nishápúr of al-Hákim. Abu 'Abdu'llah al-Háfíh (405 = 1014 A.D.) which was written in Arabic, in twelve volumes,¹ was the source of many early histories, but so far as is known does not now exist. ~~Another source is~~ the Tárikh-i-Bayhaq, al written in Arabic by Imám 'Alí b. Abí Sálíh al-Khuwárf,² who died an untimely death, the work remaining incomplete. This ~~book~~ is equally an important book concerning the district, but was not known until our author mentioned it in the Tárikh-i-Bayhaq. It seems that both the books existed in our author's time, for he quotes from both. These ^{however} were not the only sources he drew upon; there were others, to which he refers occasionally ~~in the Tárikh-i-Bayhaq~~, namely, Siáqatu't-Tárikh, the continuation of the Tárikh-i-Nishápúr, by Imám Abu'l-Hasan b. 'Abdu'l-Gháfir al-Fársí and Mazídu't-Tárikh by Abu'l-Hasan Muḥammad Sulaymán, Mafákhiri-Khurásán and Mafákhir-i-Nishápúr by Abu'l-Qásim al-Ka'bí al-Balákhí, Thimáru'l-Qutúb by ath-Tha'alibí, and Lubábu'l-Albáb by Ya'qúb.³

Other than the above sources he included some of the *ansáb* and old families of Bayhaq, so that the book might be more ^{the} comprehensive.⁴

1. T.B. f.13a.

2. See n.1.

~~3. T.B. f.13a.~~

~~4. T.B. f.13a.~~

CHAPTER IV.

**Persian Literature
of the Sixth century of the Hijra. Contemporary authors
and their works.**

Our author lived during the reign of Sultān Sanjar, whose period in literature and science was undoubtedly as brilliant as any that preceded or followed it.

The number of Persian writers, both in prose and verse, greatly increased, while many important Arabic works continued to be produced in Persia. In the reign of Sanjar, were born the great Persian poets Shaykh Farīdu'd-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (1120 A.D.), Nīdhāmi of Ganja (1140 A.D.). In the same reign died 'Umar Khayyām (1121-22 A.D.), Anrāqī (1130 A.D.), Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salīmān (1131 A.D.), Adīb Ṣābir (1143-44 A.D.), Mu'izzī (1147-48 A.D.), and 'Am'āq of Bukhārā (1148-49 A.D.). Others who flourished during this period were Sanā'ī, Nīdhāmi-i-'Arḍāī of Samarqand, the great Khāqāni, Anwārī, Rashīdu'd-Dīn Waṭwāt, the satirist Zūzānī.

Of the contemporary Persian prose works, the most important are the great medical encyclopaedia entitled *Zakhi-ra-i Khwārazmshāhi* (1110 A.D.), the translation of *Kalīla and Dimna* by Naṣru'llah b. 'Abdu-l-Hamīd (1143-44 A.D.), the *Maqāmāt* of Qāḍī Hamīdu'd-Dīn Abu Bakr of Balkh (1160 A.D.), and the *Chahā Maqāla* of Nīdhāmi 'Arḍāī of Samarqand (about 1160 A.D.) and Ḥadiqatu's *Sihr* of Rashīdu'd-Dīn Waṭwāt.

Besides Persian literature, much Arabic literature was produced though this does not concern us, it being apart from the subject in hand, but we may as well mention a few great authors of the period. Among these were the great Ghazálí (1111-12 A.D.); the geographer al-Bakrî; the poets al-Abîwardî and at-Zughrá'î; Ibn Manda, the historian of Isfahán; al-Qushayrî, the mystic; and al-Harîrî, the author of the celebrated Maqámát. During the same period lived the great commentator az-Zamakhsharî; al-Maydani (our author's tutor), the author of the well-known collection of Arabic proverbs; and ash-Sháristání, the author of the Kitábu'l-Mi'ál-i-wa'n-Nihál. Besides these there were many others whom we omit for reasons of space.

Style
of
the
Book.

The Tárikh-i-Bayhaq was, of course, one of the productions of the sixth century, ^{and} it is written in the style characteristic of the period. It is simple and clear, vastly different from the florid and diffuse style of the Persian books, such as the Maqámát of Hamídî, and ranks with Tazkiratu'l-Awliyá of 'Attár, Chahár Maqála of Nidhámi 'Arúdi, and others.

On the other hand, our author sometimes gives too lengthy descriptions, which tend to become tedious; he often repeats himself, and unnecessarily gives long titles before the names of ^{eminent men} ~~authors~~ and their ancestors, ^{whereas} ~~which~~ later authors, such as Shahrazúrí, Yáqút and others, ~~quote~~ ^{quote} from his books, ~~omitting~~ the superfluties.

Orthographical and grammatical peculiarities of the book.

The MS. of the Táríkh-i-Bayhaq, like those of the sixth and earlier centuries, has the following peculiarities in spellings:-

- 1) **ذ** is nearly always omitted from **اند** and **است** as well as from other words, when joined to the preceding words, as:-

نزدیکتر است، پاکست، سیند است، بیرون است، نیک اند، شامند، گندم (کا نذر) سر بنام

in Arabic words is not written after the consonant it follows, but on the head of it, as:

ذاتک، ضرورن - ابو القاسم
ضیاء الدین، علاء الدین

- 2) **گ** and **زج** are written uniformly for **پ** and **ک** respectively with no distinctive marks.

- 3) **به** is sometimes written for **ب** as: به بهتر، به بغداد

- 4) **ز** is always written for **>** in Persian words;

(a) when the letter preceding it is vocalized (mutaharrik) as in کوزک، کوزکان، خداوند، خرد، صد

(b) when it is preceded by long vowels, **á**, **í**, **ú**, as in افرید، کلید، فرسوز، درماز، باز etc.

But when the preceding letter is quiescent (sákin) it is written (without dot) as in نذر، نذر etc.

- 5) **ن** is sometimes separately written instead of **ند** in negative as: نذریب، باز نذریب، نذریب

- 6) **و** and **ا** are both omitted in the word **ابو** as: بلغض، بلغضام

- 7) **ه** (final) is generally not written in compounds formed with

هرک، خبانک، خندان، هرچ
که and چه

حدیجی دانی (که جائی) کی جائی کہ for کہ and چه for چه is sometimes written

is omitted from چه and کہ when joined to the following words

as: کجائی، کچونان، جاضد (که تا) کتا

8) ی is written instead of ې when followed by an other ی as:

جایی (جائی) سردی (رئی) جذایی

9) ځ is written for ې before pronominal suffixes in words ending

in ځ, and also in the second person singular in the present

perfect tense as: سایه ش (سایه اش)

10) An additional ی is written to denote identification in words

ending in ځ as: عرصه ی، جموعه ی، زمانه ی

11) When two words are joined in such wise that the second begins

with the same letter as the first ends in, one of the two

similar letters is sometimes dropped, as: برتوز (بروز) نخستین (نخست ترین)

12) Three dots are given under the long س as: بسیار، خیابان، لار

The following words have archaic spellings:

اسفند لار، خوراسان، شحاته -

Of the grammatical peculiarities I have noted the following:

1) The prefix is used به with negatives, as: بنیست، بنیشت

2) می is used before negatives as: من نیست، من نروید -

3) — is used instead of as: بایاد (بیان) باسه (به)

4) is used for i.e. as:

Sometimes ح is used for ی as: بهودی for بهودی

Some words are written as they are pronounced, as: (بلو)

Some words and phrases often used in the text are:-

تبار داشتند، حقی نراع داشتند، یکیند و یکیند، ای یو مناندر -

MSS. of the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq.

This rare work is preserved to us, so far as is known, only in three manuscripts, one in the British Museum, one in the State Library in Berlin, and one in the Tashkent Library in Central Asia.

The British Museum MS. of the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq¹ is a fine one, written in small neat naskh, and comprises 170 folios. It begins with doxology thus:-

”سباسب خداير ايله دل و افقه ويراھين راجه بر غرت وحد ايت ادا مانت
گواھي بحق و صدق ميگذا آرند“

The MS. was completed by the author on the 4th of Shawwāl 563 A.H. in the town of Shashtamad; it was transcribed by Kamālu'd-Dīnshāh Tāhir in 835 A.H. = 1432 A.D., who refers to it as follows:-

”دفع المصنف راحة الله من نسخ هذا الكتاب في الرابع من شوال سنة ثلاث
وستين وخمس مائة لقرية ششتم - وضع من تحرير هذا النسخة الجيد الفيعف المحتاج
الي راحة برابه وشفاعة جد كمال الدين شاه طاهر - والمحمد لله رب العالمين“ (2)
في غرة الشهر جمادى الاخرة سنة خمس وتلاثين وثمانماية تاريخ اتمام كتاب
الجيد انظر محري نوري است“

1. Rieu, Suppl. Cat. Per. MSS. Brit. Mus. p. 60, Or. 3587.
2. The copyist writes the year of transcription "735" A.H. which is wrong, since he writes in words eight hundred and thirty-five; for a mistake about a date is more easily committed in figures than in letters.

The MS. may be said to be fairly complete, but in places it lacks description, words, and sometimes phrases. A fact was discovered upon collation with the Berlin MS. British Museum MS. ~~was transcribed in the early part of the sixteenth century from the original~~ was written about the middle sixth century; it is in the archaic handwriting and typical of the period.

The MS. is bound up with three other pieces written in different hands, namely:

1. Fath Náma, or Bulletin addressed to Muhammad Súfí at Harát on a victory gained over Iskandar at Sultániyá.
2. Notices of Ahmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqí and of al-Isnawí from the Muhimmát of al-Isnawí.
3. Nasab-náma-i Mikáliyya by Nasíru'd-Dín Túsí; copy of 896 A.H.

British Museum Catalogue. The catalogues in which the Táríkh-i-Bayhaq is mentioned do not contain full and correct information about the book. British Museum Catalogue gives the most details; yet it is not free from errors, and there are a few points which seem to be worth rectifying.

Firstly, the catalogue states that the author completed his work Táríkh-i-Bayhaq on the fifth of Shawwál, but the date I have shown in chapter III, under "the completion of the work" is not correct.

Secondly, it states, "the MS. was apparent
a copy which was defective at the end". The
quite clear, the meaning is doubtful. The
to be quite complete, as are the other two
have the same ending. I have carefully exam
compared it with the endings of the two othe
failed to find any difference or defect in
Therefore, it appears that the entry in the

Strangely, the British Museum Catalogue
the *Tárikh-i-Ḥukamáu'l-Islám* of our author,
is mentioned by Brockelmann, and is also en
Leyden and other catalogues.

The
Berlin
MS.

The second MS. of the *Tárikh-i-Bayhaq*, p
at Berlin, is written in a clear hand, but

This is almost a complete MS. but differ
the British Museum, and Russian MSS; beside
comparatively modern, but faulty; for it la

1. Pertsch. Cat.Per.MSS. Ber.Lib. p.516, N
207,208.

in many places, especially at the end, where the mistakes are often so numerous as to obscure the sense; moreover, the diacritical points are often omitted, especially in names and words like *همدان زشتتر; صبر; جد; جد; جد; خذیم; خذیم* where not only the points, but also complete vocalization was especially required. The copyist appears to have been quite ignorant and uneducated writing *سجده (نشوی) سیر سید (همان) حوکیب* instead of *سجده (نشوی) سیر سید (همان) حوکیب*.

The MS. having been transcribed in the latter half of the thirteenth century, it does not preserve the old transcription as is to be found in the British Museum MS. While he writes wrong words or omits them, he adds other words; in one place where the MS. is written in naskh, he writes *وآله* in thulth¹ after the name of the Prophet, and introduces the words *امام علیہ السلام*² with the name of 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet, - perhaps because he was a Shi'ite, and an inhabitant of Lucknow (where the MS. was transcribed), which town, is a well known Shi'ite centre in India. But on the other hand, this MS. is distinctly useful, for in some places where the British Museum MS. lacks an important passage, it has such passages full³; sometimes two or three pages more. It begins thus:-

حدیثی است که بر این حدیث از نام کتاب مشتمل بر قصص و اخبار و وقایع و اخبار کلمه و حاوی مراد و حکم بر جیب خود انرا از خود نویسد

This beginning is quite different from that in the British Museum MS. The style of the above quoted passage differing

1. T.B. Berlin MS. f.58a.

2. Ibid. f.47b.

3. T.B. ff. 18a, 75a, 167b; Ber.MS. T.B. ff. 13a, 67a, 165

from the style of the rest of the book. It seems that the MS. from which the present MS. is transcribed, and which is considered by the transcriber to be the "original" MS. must have been defective in the beginning, and it is quite possible that a short beginning was written and added by some other person, the book was thus made "complete". There are a few lines - a seven - of this kind in the beginning. تاریخ درستی These words are written twice, after the lines quoted above, at the end of the first page, and at the beginning of the second; besides, handwriting varies slightly, but after this, the text of the runs similarly to that of the British Museum MS., save and except a few places where the Berlin MS. has fuller descriptions.

The date of the MS's transcription in Lucknow is the year 1265 A.H. from the "original" MS. written in 888 A.H. = 1483 A.D.

It ends thus:- این نسخه تاریخ پیشین که بر قوم مقبول است از نسخه اصل که بر قوم شد در ۸۸۸ و فرغ من تحریر و اتم الحروف فی شهر ۱۲۶۵ فی بلد کفین

~~The MS. from which the Berlin MS. is transcribed is dated later than that in the British Museum, by about 53 years, the British Museum MS. being transcribed from a MS. written about 325 years before the so called "original" MS. Therefore it can surely be said that the Berlin MS. was transcribed from a much older one. This can be corroborated by reference to the British Museum and Russian MSS. which were copied from a MS. completed in the town of Shashtamad on the 4th of Shawwāl 563 A.H. = 1167 A.D.~~ The MS. from which the Berlin MS. is transcribed is dated later than that in the British Museum, by about 53 years, the British Museum MS. being transcribed from a MS. written about 325 years before the so called "original" MS. Therefore it can surely be said that the Berlin MS. was transcribed from a much older one. This can be corroborated by reference to the British Museum and Russian MSS. which were copied from a MS. completed in the town of Shashtamad on the 4th of Shawwāl 563 A.H. = 1167 A.D.

6

The Berlin MS. is bound up with another work, *Tārīkh-i-Tabaristán and Mázandarán* by Sayyid Dhahīr, who wrote it in, or shortly after, the year 881 A.H. This however, is not the whole work, which Dorn's edition has made well-known. The MS. contains only an extract from the book, and was transcribed in The 1265 A.H. = 1840 A.D. ^{N.P.} The Berlin catalogue suggests that the Berlin book is a history of the town of Bayhaq, situated near Nishápur. Cat- This, as I have already stated, is erroneous.

alogue. As to the period in which our author lived, Spranger states in the Catalogue "I can find in the book no reference to the period in which he (our author) lived". It may be said as right that the years of birth and death of the author are not to be found in the *Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq*, but by the facts narrated therein it is manifest that he was still living in the year 562 A.H. = 1166 A.D.

As to the name of our author, the catalogue refers to it being given by Hájí Khalífa, first simply as Abu'l-Ḥasan¹, and then as ~~Abu'l-Ḥasan~~ 'Alí ibn Zayd al-Bayhaqí²; and as regards the full name of our author, he states "from the book (T.B. f.57a, Ber.MS.) we learn that he was called Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí b. Abi'l-Qásim Zayd."

But we find that Hájí Khalífa himself, in many places where

1. Háj. Khal. Vol.I, p.554, No.12043.

2. Ibid. Vol.II, p.122, 2186.

6

he mentions the author's book, has given the full name¹, though it was hardly necessary to look for the name of the author on f.57, as he had himself given it, and his genealogy in the preface of the *Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq*.

An error follows the above; this states that after the foregoing statement our author passes on to the biographies of the inhabitants of Bayhaq "beginning with the first half of the 5th century of the hegira". The fact is, the first man our author mentions is Abu'l-~~Hasan~~ Muḥammad b. 'Abi Ja'far, who came to Bayhaq in the year 395 A.H.², he then gives a brief account of Abu Maṣṣūr, who was born in the year 333 A.H.³

The third MS. in the Russian Library of Tashkent first became known through an article by Professor Barthold, in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, on Bayhaq.⁴

1. *Haj.Khal.* Vol.III, p.215, No.4996; Vol.II, p.122, No.2186

2. T.B. f.24a.

3. Ibid, f.45b.

4. *E.Khal. Cat.Ar.Per.Tur.MSS.* Br.Mus.& Ber.Cat.do not mention this MS. nor any other cat. or book.
See also *Ency.Islām*, Vol.I, p.592.

As that part of the catalogue, in which the MS. is entered, was not available in the British Museum, it occurred to the present writer to ask Professor Vasmer, of Leningrad University, to get a copy of that part of the catalogue which contains the information. He very kindly complied with my request, himself copying the entry, and sending it on to me. At the same time, as it was out of the question that the Tashkent Library authorities would lend the MS. outside Russia, I asked the Director of the Library through Prof.Schmidt, if I might have photographs of the first and last pages. My request was granted at once, and the photographs were kindly forwarded to me. They are now at my disposal.

The
Russian
MS.

The Tashkent MS. like that of Berlin, is defective in the beginning, much smaller in size (as is the London MS.), than the other two MSS. Though not so defective as the Berlin MS. (only about fifteen lines of the doxology are missing). It begins thus:-

دُشِبَهِائِتْ اَنْ نَحْمِي رَاسِدْ شَهِرْ دِ مَاحِلَتِ مِنْ نَاقَهْ فَوْقَ ظَهْرِهَا - اَبْرُو دُفِي ذِمَّةِ مُحَمَّدٍ

The work was completed on the 4th of Shawāl 563 A.H. = 1167 A.D. in the village of Shashtamad, and was transcribed in the year 1057 A.H. = 1647 A.D. by a scribe whose name is unknown. This is described in the following manner:-

The Tashkent MS. is much older than the Berlin MS. on the date of its completion and of that at the British Museum being the same. This being so, it seems fair to assume that both of the MSS. were transcribed from the original itself. There seems another reason to support the assumption - Tashkent is not very far from the border of Persia. If the original MS. happened to be in existence there, it is possible that it may have been in the possession of some private library or person, and we hope that one day it will make its appearance.

The Tashkent MS. is bound with another MS. A copy of one of the "items" that appears in the British Museum MS. appears also in the Tashkent MS. (f.127d-129), and is called therein Nasab Namah-i Mikāliyya

1. In the MS. "Minkāliyya" is erroneous; see Suppl. Per.MSS. Br.Mus.p.61. Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq also mentions the family of Mikalian (p.67b).

تمام شد این کتاب تاریخ پیشین
وضیع المصنف رحمه الله
هذا الكتاب في الرابع من شوال
سنة ثلاث وستين وخمسمائة
بقريه شتند، وضیع من تسويد
هذا السنه يوم السبت الثالث
شهر جمادى الثاني سبع وخمسين
والف من الهجرة النبوية عليه
الصلوة والسلام

6

The Russian catalogue likewise contains erroneous information about another of our author's books, the Lubábu' Catalogue. Ansáb, for it states that in that book "ancient families and dynasties of Bayhaq" were described. It appears that the compiler misunderstood the words: "ذکر خاندان قدیم و شریف"

There are mentioned in the book only those dynasties which concerned the Prophet's family, i.e. the Sayyids; the same thing being described in the British Museum and Berlin catalogues. Besides this, the author himself makes this clear.

In one place in the Táríkh-i-Bayhaq he says¹:-

و ذکر نقبای سادات در کتاب باب ۱۰ نسب ایشان کرده ام.

In another place he is quite clear on the point, for

he writes:² ذکر خاندان شریف و آن نبوت است درین کتاب مقصود نیست

کتابی جداگانه در آن باب تصنیف نکرده است و آن کتاب را کتاب ۱۰ نسب سادات و القاب الاعقاب نام

After having carefully examined the British Museum,

باد ۱۰ ام -

and the Berlin MSS., and judging from the available information of the Tashkent MSS., it appears that by far the most correct, and best written is the one in the British Museum.

No other MS. exists. So far as is known, no other MS. of the Táríkh-i-Bayhaq - except those already mentioned - exists in any of the public libraries of Europe, Asia, Egypt, Persia or Constantinople.

1. T.B. f.148b.

2. Ibid, f.30b.

tinople. At all events a thorough search in the catalogues of the libraries has failed to find an entry relating to such MS.

Unsatisfied with my own search, I got into communication with some eminent scholars well versed in Oriental literature namely Mr.A.G.Ellis, Mr.E.A.Storey, Professors Ritter of Constantinople, Gabrieli of Rome, Barthold and Vasmer of Leningrad, Schmidt of Tashkent; Monsieur Blochet of Paris, Mirza Muhammad of Qazwin, Professors Marquart, Mittwoch, Wa and Weil of Berlin, and others; but in each and every case these learned gentlemen could throw no further light on the question. I have had an opportunity of meeting some of the and replies from others to my communications are in my possession.

CHAPTER V.

Biographical sketches of the authors and personages mentioned in the *Tárikh-i-Bayhaq*.
~~We shall hereunder translate from the *Tárikh-i-Bayhaq* an~~
 account of those eminent men who were either born in Bayhaq or resided there, and who were distinguished in one way or another. Some, of whom biographical notices are not to be found elsewhere had produced great works, ~~which are now lost~~. The information afforded in the *Tárikh-i-Bayhaq* may perhaps be found useful concerning any works which may eventually come to light.

Some historical facts, events, and names of ancient towns and villages which do not now exist or are but little known,¹ also crop up in the following sketches.

Our author gives a description in the following of a descendant of Báddánu'l-Mulk, the King of Yaman; of Khusraw Parw; his assassination by the order of his son; and a miracle of the Prophet.

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1. For the names of persons, towns, and places mentioned in the *Tárikh-i-Bayhaq*, various books, maps and atlases have been consulted, such as, *Turkistan; The Lands of the Eastern Khaliphate; Literary History of Persia* by Professor Browne, and P. Sykes; *Mu'jamu'l-Buldan; Nuzhatu'l-Qulúb; Persian Maps* by T. Kitchin; *Times Atlas; Gazetteer of the World*, and other publications; and some names are not to be found even in the

"Abu Muhammad al-Faql b. Muhammad ash-Shi'rānī al-Bayhaqī¹ was a descendant of Bādānu'l-Mulk, the King of Yaman. Once Maliku'l-'Ajam Kisrā² Parwiz b. Hurmuz b. Nawshirwān ordered him to present the Prophet Muhammad in his court in chains. This Bādān, being a wise man, sent messengers to the Prophet with word that the Malik-i-'Ajam was displeased with him, for having written his (the Prophet's) name over that of the King. This offence would be pardoned only if the Prophet presented himself in person in the court of the King and asked his pardon. This being done, the pardon would be granted and the Prophet would be allowed to return home. For a few days the Prophet postponed replying, and kept the messengers waiting. Later on he told them to return to their country, as the Malik-i-'Ajam Parwiz had been that day assassinated by his son Sharāba. The messengers requested him not to utter such ill-omened words, for if the Malik-i-'Ajam happened to hear of the utterance he would without doubt make war upon the Arabs and destroy them and their country. The Prophet then assured them that it was the fact. The messengers thereupon returned to Bādān and related to him what had happened. Bādān then asked the messengers to write down the day and date of the Prophet's utterance, and said "If it is true, then we will believe whatever he says, and we will also accept his religion, if it is not true, then the Malik-i-'Ajam will himself seek revenge upon

1. T.B. f.80b.

2. Khuzāw in Persian.

the Arabs'. Three days after this event Báddán received a letter from Malik-i-'Ajam Sharába, bearing news that on the very date that the Prophet had uttered the words, his father had been taken prisoner by his soldiery and put to death. At the same time he ordered Báddán to announce to the people that he had embraced Islám and forbade him to come in the way of the Prophet or to cause the slightest inconvenience to him. Báddán was much pleased to receive the King's letter and he too followed the example of the King, as indeed did his whole army and embraced the religion of the Prophet.

Báddán was born and grew up in the village of Riwand, in the division of Bashmín. This Báddán was learned in literature and in religion, and had travelled much, and there was no Islámic city that Báddán had not visited.

Imám Muhammad b. Isháq b. Khuzayma sought a knowledge of hadith from him. Báddán was himself a pupil of the celebrated Ibnu'l-'Arabí."

While transmitting a hadith, our author discusses the question of the learned-looking ignoramus. "Ábu 'Umrán Muhammad b. 'Umar b. Jibríl al-Bayhaqí, ^{he relates,} ~~he~~ transmitted a hadith of the Prophet, who said "when you are asked about a thing you do not know, you must admit plainly that you do not know; this really is one-third of learning." ^{After this} ~~Here~~ our author says "Once, while I was in Nishápur, I beheld the Prophet in a dream and heard the same hadith

from him." He further continues "a great deal of the ignorance in the world is due to concealing from ignorant people their lack of knowledge, and boldly expressing one's own opinion upon religious problems, of which they are totally ignorant. There are some people who look the very portrait of Wisdom, but who nevertheless are ignorant and illiterate. Among simple persons they pass as repositories of vast knowledge, and their opinions and advice are sought on all sorts of subjects. Their every word is received as the very quintessence of wisdom. Ashamed at the thought of displaying their ignorance, and afraid of unpopularity they must at all costs impart their knowledge, which is invariably wrong and of no value at all. Yet such "reason" prevails the worst over.

Whatever may be wrong with the religions of Moses, Christ and Muhammad is due to ignorant men, who pose as learned. It has always been the case that where the learned appear to be contented people are the more inclined to accept their opinions and pronouncements. Even these learned men could not in the least influence the learned-looking ignoramus. In all times the really learned and enlightened have been harassed by this class of persons, and have realized their power of spreading ignorance. Strangely, the learned-looking ignoramus is much more popular than the man of genuine learning."

In the following, our author, while mentioning the decline of

the Tāhirid power, and the rise of the Ṣaffārid, related a humorous story about the poet Ibrāhīm Mughīthī.

"Abu Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Mughīthī al-Bayhaqī¹ was born in Mughīth in Bayhaq, near Jashm. Abu 'Abdu'llah al-Ḥāfidh writes that Ibrāhīm Mughīthī was greatly respected in Nishāpūr and the adjoining districts, and was known as "Ḥamak and Ḥamash". To acquire knowledge he visited several centres of learning, such as Khurāsān, Baghdād, and other towns. Amīr Abu Aḥmad Ubaydu'llah b. 'Abdu'llah b. Tāhir became his great friend, and Mughīthī wrote books for him. Mughīthī was also a poet and wrote verses in reply to the poets Ibn Rūmī and Bakhtārī. Once Ibn Rūmī praised him highly in verses (f.86b).

When the power of Tāhirī Kings was declining and Āl-i-Layth were getting powerful, Mughīthī was appointed a tutor to the son of Ibn Layth. One day Abu'l-Ḥārith, a courtier, asked Mughīthī to write a letter to his people in Sijistān, ordering that half of his property be sold, and the proceeds distributed among the poor, as a thanksgiving for the Kingdom of Khurāsān coming under the rule of Amīr Ya'qūb. Mughīthī wrote accordingly, but in the

1. Abu Ishāq was the grandfather of Imām Sadīdu'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm Mughīthī, who was then Muftī of Khurāsān and was mentioned by Abu 'Alī al-Khuwārī in the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq, and by Al-Ḥākim Abu Abd'ullah al-Ḥāfidh in the Tārīkh-i-Nishāpūr. T.B. f.87b. *But these books are no longer in existence.*
~~See Nishāpūr, f.87b.~~

but in the letter asked for the whole of the property to be sold sending the letter under Abu'l-Hārith's seal. The instructions in the letter were duly carried out. When Abu'l-Hārith received the letter informing him of the sale, he was beside himself with rage; he tore his clothes, and calling out and cursing, rushed into the court of Ya'qúb b. Layth. When Ya'qúb saw him in such a state and heard what the matter was he almost burst his sides with laughter, fell backwards and rolled upon the spacious throne from one side to the other. The courtiers stood amazed; they had never seen their master laugh like that before. Upon recovering from his paroxysm the Amír ordered that all the property should be bought back from the Royal treasury and given to Abu'l-Hārith. To Abu'l-Hārith he said that he may take his revenge on Mughithí, who had already run away and lay in hiding.

It happened later on that just after dawn one morning Mughithí emerging from his hiding place, and passing through a street called the "Street of Battle", by chance encountered Abu'l-Hārith with his slaves in the same street, and in the light of the torch-bearers he beheld Mughithí, who nearly fainted away at the sight of Abu'l-Hārith, who asked him tauntingly 'Is there any way now to sell the property that the King has bought for me, and will you write one more letter for me?' To this Mughithí replied tremblingly "I knew that there would be no loss to you, and by the kindness of God you got double the amount, and now I ask you to forgive me." He thereupon recited the following verse,

which he composed on the instant:-

من كان يرجو اعفوا من كل عفوته - من ذنبه فليعف عن ذنبه

Abu'l-Hārith now forgave him and Mughithī went on his way and was soon out of danger."

Our author quotes many of Mughithī's verses and says that he was inclined to satire. He also states that Abu'l-Qásim al-Ka'bi al-Balkhī, in his book *Mafákhir-i-Khurásán*, has given a long quotation from Mughithī's verses; Khwāja Abu Naṣr Tha'álibi also mentions Mughithī in *Yatímatu'd-Dahr*.²

In the following sketch our author describes an interesting story about the generosity of Ṭáhir b. Abdu'llah, the Amír of Khurásán.

"Abu Ṣálih Shu'ayb b. Ibráhim as-Sijlī al-Bayhaqī ³ was a man of great learning, Shu'ayb relates a story of how once a party travelled to Syria to acquire a knowledge of ḥadīth, he being among them. During the journey they found that they had spent all their money, became very worried in consequence, and then began to wander about. Soon there appeared before them a young and handsome cavalier, who asked what was the matter, and after learning the facts, he went back home and immediately dispatched one thousand dinars for each person. After enquiries had been made, it was found that the cavalier was Ṭáhir b. Abdu'llah, the Amír of Khurásán, Syria and Baghdád."

¹ The book so far as is known does not now exist.
² See *Yatima*, Vol. II, p. 125.

³ T.B. p. 90a.

Chawdhuri.

About the ~~author~~ author of the famous commentary Tafsir-i-Kabir, he writes as follows:-

"Al-Imám az-Záhid-al-Mufasssir 'Alí b. Abdu'llah b. Ahmad an-Nishápurí ¹known as Ibn Abu't-Tayyib was born in Nishápur, and settled down in Sabzwár. Khwája Abu'l-Qásim 'Alí b. Muḥammad, who was a wealthy land-owner, erected a school for 'Alí b. Abdu'llah in the town of Sabzwár, in the quarter called Isfard'is, in 418 A.H. in which school he taught. The ruined walls of the school are visible now.

'Alí b. Abdu'llah had written several commentaries upon the Qu'rá such as Tafsir-i-Kabir, in thirty volumes, Tafsir-i-Wasit, in fifteen, and Tafsir-i-Saghír in three. All these books were written with minute care and close observation. It is said that when he died on the 8th of Shawwál 458, there were found only four volumes in his library, one of them was on fiqh, one upon literature, and two upon history. It is also said that whatever is prayed for, near his tombstone, is granted by God. He was present at the Court of Sultán Mahmád in the month of Jumáda I, 414 A.H. ^{for he had written} ~~he wrote~~ to the King unceremoniously, ~~and~~ without addressing him by his title, and transmitted a hadith without licence. The Sultán, ^{had} ~~upon seeing him became angry~~ ~~and~~ ordered a slave to strike him upon the head. The slave obeyed, and so severe was the blow that Abdu'llah lost his sense of hearing. Later on, when the King heard of

his learning, piety, truthfulness and Godliness, he was extremely sorry for the deed, begged his pardon and presented to him valuable gifts. But Abdu'llah refused to accept the gifts and also ^{to} pardon the King. He said 'I am no longer happy with anything upon earth, for thou hast destroyed my sense of hearing.'

Once upon meeting the King he looked him straight in the face and said 'God will decide between us upon the Day of Judgement. Transmission of ḥadīth and preaching are not things which are controlled by the King, and remember thou hast interfered without right.' The Sultān became greatly ashamed and turned on his heel.

Abdu'llah was also a poet. Some of his verses in an elegy upon the death of Amīr Zayyīd az-Zayyādī I have quoted in Wushāḥu-Dumyatu'l-Qaṣr . This unequalled Imām had a difference of opinion with my grandfather, Abu Sulaymān Funduq, "the Leader of the world", and had discussed with him literary problems in the school situate in the market of Sabzwār and in the Ṣā'adī school in Nīshāpūr."

A blind genius is described as under:-

"Al-Imām an-Nādir Dharīru'd-Dīn 'Alī b. Shāhāk al-Qaṣārī¹ was born and bred in Sabzwār, and was descended from a good family. In his childhood he lost his eyesight, but in spite of that affliction, he finished his studies of the different recitals of the Qu'rān - all famous and rare. Later on he studied fiqh, uṣūl, and many other subjects. In philosophy and logic he

1. T.B. f.141a.

became highly proficient. In methematics, he mastered all the books of Euclid and the well-known Majisti. He had a wonderfully easy method of teaching these. He originated a calendar which contained astronomical problems, and this calendar became known all over the world. Strangely, this blind astronomer never erred in the science, as many others, having sight, had done before him."

An account of a great grammarian as follows:-

"Al-Imám Abu 'Alí al-Faql b. Husayn at-Tabrasí¹ settled in Mashad-i-Sanabád of Tús. Tabrasí was unrivalled in the subject of nahw, and had a sound knowledge of many other subjects. He was born poet, and composed verses from his early childhood. Some of his verses I have quoted in Wusháhu-Dumyatu'l-Qaṣr. Tabrasí wrote many books, most of them consisting of selections from other authors' works, this sometimes being as difficult as writing a book one's self, because such selection may entail a severe test of one's knowledge. He made an excellent selection from Kitáb-i Muqtaṣid in nahw, from the commentaries of Murzúqí, and of the celebrated Imám Zākhsharí. He himself wrote a commentary of the Qu'rán in ten volumes, and many other books. He died in Sabzwár on the 10th of Zil-Hijja 548 A.H."

Hakím Muḥammad b. 'Ísa al-Muṭibí, ^{a poet, caller} ~~himself~~ himself after Najibu'l-Mulk Muṭibí², who was a well-known personage of the period. About this poet our author remarks "I do not know any other poet in

1. T.B. f.142a.

2. Ibid. f.151b.

Bayhaq exoelling him in fineness of perception, in integrity, learning, prosody, and in beauty of expression. His verses are quoted (f.116b.)

The earliest account of the famous historian Abu'l-Faql Bayhaq as given by our author ~~in the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq~~¹ is as follows:-

"Ash-Shaykh Abu'l-Faql Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Kātib al-Bayhaqī¹ was born in the village of Ḥārithabād. He was the tutor of Sulṭāns Muḥammad, Mas'ūd, Mawdū, and Farrukhzād. When the rule of Farrukhzād came to an end Bayhaqī settled down in seclusion, and began to write books. One of his productions is the Zīnatu' Kuttāb, which is unequalled on that subject; and the Tārīkh-i-Nāsirī from the beginning of the time of Subuktigin till the reign of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. He has chronicled in it the daily events of the time. It comprises more than thirty volumes, some of which I have seen in the library of Sarakhs, some in the library of the School of Khātūn Maḥd 'Irāq, in Nishāpūr, and some in the possession of private persons. The whole work in its entirety was not to be found.

Bayhaqī wrote that there were severe snowfalls in Nishāpūr of long duration, and this was the cause of the famine in the year 401 A.H., a famine which spread throughout Khurāsān and 'Irāq, but was worst in Nishāpūr. The number of people who died of this famine exceeded one hundred and seven thousand.² Abū Naṣr al-'Utbi narrates in the Tārīkh-i-Yamīni³ that all graves, even

1. T.B. f. 101.b.

2. There is a lengthy description of this famine in the Tārīkh-Yamīni ff.194-199. Cat.Per.MSS.Br.Mus.Add.24,950.

3. No reference to these snowfalls and famine is to be found in the existing part of the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaqī.

the oldest, were torn open and people devoured the bones of the dead. This was terrible enough, but it was not all, for parents devoured their children. Imām Abu Sa'id Khargūshī affirms the fact in his book¹ stating that from his locality alone more than four hundred victims were buried.

This was hardly a famine occasioned by lack of food, but it was the terrible insatiable hunger, a disease which completely overpowered the people. It is stated in the book of Yamīnī, that in those days bakers put many tons of bread in their shops, and seventeen man of bread could be bought for a penny. But the more the people ate the more they were hungry. Poets described this horrible famine in verse (f.102a.).

Once Bayhaqī, for not making a settlement upon his wife, was sent to ^{the} prison of Ghaznī at a command of the Qādī. At that time Tughril Būzārī², who was a fugitive slave of the Mahmūdī King became so successful in laying hold of Ghaznī after slaying Sulṭān 'Abu'r-Rashīd and imprisoned in a fortress the officers of the King. One of the prisoners was Abu'l-Faql Bayhaqī, who, from the prison of Qādī, was transferred to the prison in the fortress.²

After a short period the tables were turned, and Tughril was killed by Nūstigin Ru'indar, after ruling only seventy-five days when the kingdom again came under the rule of Mahmūdīan. Abu'l-Faql Bayhaqī died in Šafar 470 A.H."

About the following greatly pious author he writes:-

"Al-Adīb Abu Sa'id Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Khusrawabddī³ was

1. Cf. Barthold, pp. 368, 401.

2. Ency. Islām, Vol. I, p. 592.

3. T.B. f.123a.

born in Khusrawabad, but grew up and lived thereafter in Nishápu. A man of great piety, it is said that when he went to the mosque for prayer on Friday, he would not pay a visit afterwards to any body without changing his clothing, and this was his consistent habit for a period of forty years. He was also a prominent author and had produced numerous works, among them being Kitábu'l-Hidáya and Kitábu'l-'Aniya fit-Taṣríf."

Another author is mentioned thus:-

"Ash-Shaykh Abu'l-Qásim Ḥamza b. al-Ḥusayn al-Barzahí al-Bayhaqí was born in Barzah, which is also called Barg. He wrote many volumes among them being Kitábu'l-Fuṣúl; Kitábu'l-Maḥámid and Kitábu'l-Maḥásin. He is also mentioned in Dunyatu'l-Qaṣr of Bákharzī², and in the Táríkh-i-Bayhaq of Imám 'Alī b. Abī Ṣálih al-Khuwárfi. Leaving a diwán consisting of more than ten thousand verses, he died in the year 488 A.H. Imám 'Alī wrote an elegy upon his death (f.124b)."

About a great commentator, lawyer and jurist, he states:-

"al-Ḥakīm al-Imám Abu Sa'd al-Muḥsin b. Muḥammad b. Karáma al-Bayhaqí³ was born and bred in Jashm. He wrote many books on Muhammadan law and jurisprudence, such as 'Uyūnu'l-Masá'il; a commentary on al-'Uyūn, Ḥakīmu'l-'Uqūl, compiled an extraordinarily good commentary of the Qu'rán in twenty volumes; and wrote a fine work on Shurūṭ. He was highly respected by Amír Abu'l-Faḍl al-Mikálí. He was also a transmitter of ḥadīth from

1. T.B. f. 123b.

2. *Dunya*, f. 145b.

3. Ibid. f.124b.

Imām Abu Abdu'r-Rahmān an-Nabali and from several other famous traditionists.

Imām 'Alī Ṣāliḥ wrote a qaṣida in his praise (f.124a). He was an 'Alawi Sayyid and a fourteenth descendant from 'Alī (the son-in law of the Prophet); but he and his descendants were not known by that name as they cared nothing for fame, preferring to remain in a corner of seclusion."

About "the greatest traditionist of the time", our author writes:-

"Shaykhu'l-Quḍāt Abu 'Alī Ismā'īl al-Imām al-Muḥaddith Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī¹ was "the greatest traditionist of his time", and a tutor of mine, when he visited the village Abārī in the year 506 A.H. (Our author was then a little boy of seven.)

Abu 'Alī was also a Qādī of Khwārazm. He died in the town of Abārī in Jumādā II 587 A.H."

A generous and pious Wazīr is described as follows:-

"Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī² was a deputy minister to Fakhrū'l-Mulk b. Nidhāmu'l-Mulk, and noted for his generosity. It is said that in the month of Ramaḍān, if any poor man happened to dine with him after the ifṭār Abu'l-Ḥasan would make himself responsible for his maintenance for the ensuing year. In the latter period of his life he erected a monastery in Sabzwār, where together with a few others, mystically minded, he led a life of seclusion.

1. T.B. f.125b.

2. Ibid, f.127b.

Many poets dedicated poems to him, in all, sufficient to make a book. Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī was himself a poet whose verses are quoted on f.127b. Upon his death in the month of Ramaḡān 519 A.H., 'Alī b. Abī Ṣālih wrote his funeral ode (f.127b)."

About a minister of different Kings of his time, our author gives the following account:-

"Sharafu'd-Dīn Dhahīru'l-Mulk Abu 'Alī al-Bayhaqī¹ was a son of 'Alī Sijistāni, but Sharafu'd-Dīn himself was born in Sabzwār. He was one of the greatest men of letters in Bayhaq, and was a tutor of Sayyid Ajal 'Aziz and of his brother 'Imādu'd-Dīn. He was also appointed by my grandfather Shaykhu'l-Islām Amīrak a deputy to his post of Khaṭīb and preacher.

While Sharafu'd-Dīn was a tutor to 'Imādu'd-Dīn Yahyā, he wrote a Qaṣīda in praise of Muḡammad b. Maṡṡūr, the Chief of Khurāsān, who was pleased with this and bestowed upon him favour. By means of these favours he attained a high position, and presented himself at the court of Malik Jamālu'd-Dīn Būrī Bara b. Alp Arslān, where he spent some time. When Būrī Bara was defeated in a skirmish by his brother Malik Arghu in Marv, close to the village of Darija ?, Sharafu'd-Dīn in disguise, and with the help of his brother Shamsu'l-Aimma (Abu'l-Qāsim Ismā'īl) hid himself in a school building¹ till after the skirmish was over. Later on in the reign of Sulṭān Sanjar, he became a

1. T.B. f.131b.

a collector of revenue in Hirát, afterwards becoming a minister of 'Izzu'd-Din Tughril Beg, and from that position he became accountant general of the kingdom.

His last appointment was as a collector of revenue of 'Irâq and Bagdad in 517 A.H. He was killed in a battle in 536 A.H. His son Mujîru'd-Din was also a revenue collector in Ray."

In the following is described Abu'l-Hasan, the great mufti of Sháfi'ites:-

"Imám Abu'l-Hasan Muḥammad b. Shu'ayb al-Bayhaqí¹ was a Mufti of Sháfi'ites. He founded the school in the street of "Sayyar" in Nishápur, which was also known as Madrasa-i-Bayhaqí. He was a transmitter of ḥadīth.

'Umar Muḥaww'í in his book al-Muḡahḡab fi A'immati'l-Maḡhab extolled him very highly. Wazír Abu'l-Faḡl al-Bal'amí had a great regard for him and offered him the Qādīship of certain great cities, but he refused the position. Abu'l-Hasan died in 324 A.H. and was buried in the cemetery of al-Ḥusayn b. Ma'ad."

Our author gives in the following, strange information about a town which was founded for aged-learned people only.

"Abu Ḥámid Aḡmad b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaqí² was a man of learning and Khatíb of Khuránsán.

It is said that KayKhusraw, the founder of Khusrawjird, created the town especially for aged men of learning of that time. I have observed many old men of learning in residence there, (he gives the names of some of them, f.92a.). Abu Ḥámid al-Khatíb died in 355 A.H."

A poet is described in the following:-

"Aḡmad b. Ibráḡim al-A'sarí al-Bayhaqí³ was among the great poet and learned men of Khuwár. He wrote a book of verse. Later on

1. T.B. f.91a.

2. Ibid, f.92a.

3. Ibid, f.92b.

he entered the service of Ismā'il b. Abbād.

Once A'sarī was dining with 'Abbād, learned men being present, when a sweet dish called "halva" was brought before them and 'Abbād expressed a wish that every poet should compose a quatrain before tasting the dish. Everyone did as asked, but A'sarī kept quiet until all had recited their verses, then he pointed out errors in every quatrain uttered, and then recited his own quatrain. 'Abbād was quite amazed at his judgement and so pleased with it that he bestowed on the poet favours and honours."

Hereunder an author and poet is described, and mention is made of a cemetery which was known after ^{the name of} our author's father:—
~~names~~

"Abu Abdu'llah Muḥammad b. Abdu'r-Razzāq al-Bayhaqī¹ was born and bred in Sabzwār. He was an author and a poet, his verses were eventually collected by Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. 'Alī, and they comprised five volumes. He wrote a book for Amīr Nāṣiru'd-Dawla Abu'l-Ḥasan Simjūri, entitled Kitābu'd-Darāt.² During the Khilāfat of al-Muṭṭi' Lillah, the Roman Caesar sent an Arabic Qasīda, which was a sort of "threat".³ Many poets wrote verses in reply. Abu Abdu'llah was asked by the Khalifa to write one, which he did in glowing terms. Abu Abdu'llah died in the month of Sha'bān 562 A.H. and was buried in the cemetery called after the

1. T.B. f.93b.

2. See Barthold, pp. 250.

3. T.B. f.105b.

name of my father."

A brief account of Wazir Abu'l-'Abbás, the pious, and a poet, runs thus:-

"Al-Wazir Abu'l-'Abbás Ismá'il-el-Ambárfi was born and bred in Sabzwár. He wrote many books, among them may be mentioned his Kitábu'l-Farah Ba'dat-Tarāḥ. He had for a long time been the Wazir of Elak Khán in Máwárá'n-n-Nahr; resigning the post he came to Khurásán. Sultán Mahmúd offered him a ministership, but he refused to accept it. For that offence he was imprisoned, and later on poisoned. His diwán exceeds five volumes, in which he seems to favour alliteration."

Hereunder is described a wealthy man of Bayhaq, who erected four colleges for the Imáms of four schools of Islám; one of them being erected for our author's great-grandfather.

"Ash-Shaykhu'r-Ra'is Abu'l-Qásim 'Alí b. Muḥammad¹ was a great and wealthy man of Bayhaq. He erected four colleges for the four Imams of fiqh. The Hanifite College was named after my great-grandfather Abu'l-Qásim 'Abdu'l-'Azíz b. Yúsuf, and it is still flourishing. The Shafi'ite College was erected in "New Street", for Abu'l-Ḥasan, the preacher, and this collegewas ~~also~~ in the locality of Shadráh, but no trace of it is to be found now. For the Sayyids and their followers, and for 'Adlian and Zaydian a college was erected in the locality of Isfara'is, and named after Imám 'Alí b. Abu'tṭayyib; this college is still in

existence."

An author is described as follows:-

"Ah-shaykh Abu Abdu'llah Muhammad b. Abdu'llah az-Zayyádf al-Bayhaqí¹ also known as "Khwájakak Zayyádf", was foremost among the great men of Zayyádfian in Bayhaq. Mahmádf Kings granted him the title of "the Great and Learned". He was also addressed in very respectful terms by Sultán Tughril Saljúqí. Abu Abdu'llah had produced both prose and poetry. Among his work was the book Sharafu'l-Mukallif, and also Maqámát, on the style of the well-known ~~work~~ Maqámát- of Badi'u'z-Zamán. He also wrote a Journal. His poetry was of a high order of excellence."

Another author and physician is mentioned as follows:-

"al-Hakím 'Alí b. Muhammad al-Qáyaní² was born in Qáyán, and later, when the town was destroyed, he removed to Nishápúr. There he had discussions with 'Umar, and others, upon medicine and other subjects. Amír Abu'l-Hasan 'Alí b. al-Huseyn al-Jashmí appointed him chief physician of the district. Wealth and honour were conferred upon him by the Kings of his time." Among his great literary productions was, Kitáb Mafákhir-i-Atrák, which he wrote for Sultán Sanjar. He wrote many treatises upon medicine."

Our author describes the famous Abu 'Alí Sallámí, and writes his nisba Sallámí from the former's own description of it in his book Kitábu'th-Thár, which had been wrongly written and misread.

1. T.B. 112a.

2. Ibid. f.83b.

3. For this description see also Chahár Maqála, p.125.

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"Abu 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sallāmi¹ al-Bayhaqī was born and bred in the town of Khuwār in the district of Bayhaq. His name would be pronounced Sallāmi with double "l" like " 'Allam and Chaffar", as he writes in his book Kitābu'th-Thār. His nisba is from the Madīnatu's Salām i.e. Baghdād. He died in the year 300 A.H.²

Abu 'Alī Sallāmi is too famous to require any description of mine; his works disclose his greatness. Among his many books are Tarīkh'-i-Wulāt-i-Khurāsān, Kitābu'sh-Shuff-i-wa'ṭ-ṭ-Taraf, Kitābu'Niṣbāh, Kitābu'th-Thār and Tarīkh-i-Khuwār. He was a pupil of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī. His verses are quoted in Yatīmatu't-Dahr of ath-Tha'ālibī³ and other famous books.

It is interesting to know that the famous author of Bayhaq, Abū Bakr Khwārazmī who was a tutor of Sulṭān Maḥmūd and was the "greatest author of Bayhaq" was his pupil⁴."

A great author's brief mention is as follows:-

"Abu Naṣr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Adl al-Bayhaqī,⁵ another great author was born and lived in Diwra. Among his productions were Kitābu'l-Adab, Commentaries of Lubāb⁶, Iṣlāḥu'l-Manṭiq, Adab-u'l.

1. T.B. f.89a.

2. But in Yatīma the date of his death is given as 336 A.H.

3. See Yatīma, Vol.II, p.157; in the Index p.158, which is erroneous

4. Haft Iqlīm- Cat.Per.MSS. Br.Mus. Or.203, f.237b.

5. T.B. f.84b.

6. Perhaps Lubābu'l-Albāb of Ya'qūb.

Kitáb, Mukhtasáru'l 'Ayn and of Charibu'l-Haafith. ~~by al-Bayhaqi~~ " ~~by al-Bayhaqi~~ "

Another author is mentioned thus:-

"Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Bayhaqi¹ came from Kalimabad of Bayhaq, a town situate between Nárístána and Qarírhístán. He was the author of many books among them being Táju'l-Mašádir, Yanábíd'l-Lugha, Kitábu'l-Muhit."

An account of a great friend of our author, a popular Bayhaqi:-

"Ar-Ra'is Abu Muhammad al-Mu'allá b. Ahmad al-Bayhaqi² was born in Kuhand³ and was the grandfather of Quḡāt-i-Šá'idíyán of Nishápur and he was among those that Bayhaq had reason to be proud of. He held a prominent position in the local Government of Nishápur. Many poets wrote Qasidas in his praise. Súfí b. al-Mu'tar the governor of Nishápur said that he knew no equal to Mu'allá al-Bayhaqi in popularity and fineness of character. This Mu'allá Bayhaqi used to meet me every day over a considerable period. Khwája Abu Manšúr ath-Tha'álíbi has also narrated in his books much about Mu'llá al-Bayhaqi."

A short account of another author is as follows:-

"Ash-Shaykh Abu 'Alí al-Manaffi³ was appointed chief writer in the reign of Sultán Mus'áa. He wrote As-Siratu'l-Mus'ádiyya, a wonderful book, no such book having been written for any King of Khurásán."

1. T.B. f.96a.

2. Ibid. f.99b.

3. Ibid. f.105a.

The family of Kisá'f.¹

"This family was one of the most important of Bayhaq. The members of the family were descendants of al-Kisá'f an-Nahwí. Hárún ar-Rashíd, the Khalif took him and his family to Ray, where after a while, he died. Afterwards some of the descendants of Kisá'f left Ray for Baghdád, and some of them went to Khurásán with Hárún ar-Rashíd. When Hárún ar-Rashíd died, 'Alí b. Hamza al-Kisá'f came to Bayhaq and settled down there. This Alí was killed in a battle near Ahabad. He left a son named Husayn, in the village of Afjang. Later on in the battle the Khárijíys killed all his sons; but this boy somehow escaped their search and grew up and became a noted scholar. Husayn had a son named Ismá' both of them are mentioned in the Táríkh-i-Baghdád, and through this source Imám Awahadu'd-Dín Abu'l-Ma'álf ar-Rashídí had mentioned in his history? that he descended from the family of Kisá'f Nahwí."

About a philosopher our author writes:-

"Imám Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ma'múdf al-Faylsúf² was one of the great men of learning of his time. It was unanimously agreed upon by scholars that Imám Muḥammad was pre-eminent in philosophy. He entered into the service of Táju'l-Mulk, a wazír of Isfahán at Baghdád, before Nidhámú'l-Mulk held that position. But some time

1. T.B. f.133a.

2. Ibid, f.136b.

later Imám Ma'múdí considered service with Táju'l-Mulk dangerous, so he secretly left Táju'l-Mulk's house and hid in the house of a friend near the fortress of the town. Somehow a disturbance there caused bloodshed and plundering, in which Ma'múdí was killed in the year 485 A.H."

About an author and friend, ~~one author~~^{he} writes thus:-

"Al-Imam Fa^khru'z-Zamán Mas'ud b. 'Alí b. Ahmad as-Şawábí¹ was a descendant of Azízian, and the fact has already been mentioned that 'Azízian were descended from Abdu'r-Rahmán b. 'Awf, the Companion of the Prophet.

Mas'úd, a well-known writer of his time, was highly respected by the great men and ministers of the time. A poet, his diwán a large one; he wrote much, among his works being Sáyyqala'l- Albá Qwámi' wa Lawámi' fi'l-Usúl; at Tanqih fi Usúli'l-Fiqh; Taẓkír, four volumes; Baqiat u'l-Masdúr; A'láqu'l-Malwín wa Akhláqu'l-Ajwín; a Commentary of the Qu'rán."

About a great traditionist, humane and benevolent man, he writes as follows:-

"al-Imám Jamálu'l-Islám al-Husayn b. 'Alí b. Abbás, al-Fawzán² was born in Sabzwár. He was a pupil of Imám Abu Muhammad Juwayní. A great man of letters, he is mentioned in detail in the Táríkh-i-Nishápúr. Fawzán was one of the greatest traditionists and learned men of Nishápúr, and succeeded Imám Ahmad Fuṭaym in the post of Mufti of Nishápúr. Fawzán was a most goodnatured

1. T.B. f.137a.

2. Ibid. f.138a.

man. If anyone did him any harm or caused him any trouble he would never retaliate; rather would he present to him.

My father Shamsu'l-Islām visited Fawzān one day when he was surrounded by firends. Upon seeing Shamsu'l-Islām he became silent, but after a few moments he recited two verses in his praise (f.138b.)

Fawzān transmitted ḥadīth from great traditionists like Imām Aḥmad Bayhaqī and others. He died in 519 A.H. and was buried in the compound of the school of Sikka-i-Sayyār."

The first Persian composer is mentioned as follows:

"The first man who composed Persian verses in Bayhaqī dialect was Muhammad b. Sa'id al-Bayhaqī¹. Abu'l-Qāsim Ka'bī al-Mafākhir-i-Nishāpūr gives an account of that poet and says: "It is interesting to learn that he wrote verses in the Bayhaqī dialect too". To this dialect our author refers in the following place thus:- "When Hārūn ar-Rashīd reached Kuhnāb the place called Lusīdar, which some people called Lusīdar in the Bayhaqī dialect meaning 'fox'.

We have hereunder translated the account of Nidhāmu'l-Mulk into English, together with a genealogical tree at the end of it, and these are as follows:-

The Dynasty of Sayyidu'l-Wuzarā Nidhāmu'l-Mulk

"Ishāq, the father of Nidhāmu'l-Mulk was a landowner in the village of Ankā, situated in a fertile part of Khurāsān. He succeeded in spreading happiness among the people, supporting them in their troubles and difficulties, and ever devising new ways for their prosperity.

This Ishāq had four sons: Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī, Ahmad, Muḥammad and Abu Naṣr. The last named died in his childhood. The eldest son Abu'l-Hasan had three sons, Nidhāmu'l-Mulk al-Hasanī, Abu 'Alī, Abu'l-Qāsim Abdu'llah, and Abu Naṣr Ismā'il.

Ahmad b. Ishāq had only one son, who was called Khwāja Amīrak Nazlabādī.

The poet Bari' al-Fadlawī writes the following verses in praise of Nidhāmu'l-Mulk:-

'Nidhāmu'l-Mulk is a great minister,
Sword of religion; a chief of humanity.
I wish him long life,
For he is a cause of peace to the people.'

The Descendants of Nidhāmu'l-Mulk.

Nidhāmu'l-Mulk had nine sons: Fakhru'l-Mulk al-Mudhaffar, Jamālu'-l-Mulk Abu Ja'far Muḥammad, Qiwāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad (who lived in Baghdād), Uthmān, Bahāu'l-Mulk Abu'l-Faṭḥ Abdu'r-Rahīm, 'Izzu'l-Mulk al-Ḥusayn, Mu'ayyid u'l-Mulk 'Ubaydn'llah, 'Imādu'l-Mulk Abu'l-Qāsim, (whose descendants lived in Ṭūs), and Amīr Ma' (whose descendants lived in Ray).

Nidhāmu'l-Mulk had also four daughters. One was married to Muḥammad Furātī, another to Sayyid-Ajal of Ray, another to Amīr Abu'l-Ḥasan, son of Faqīh Ajal, and the fourth to the son of 'Azīz of Jurājn.

It is interesting to note the most unusual fact that all nine of Nidhāmu'l-Mulk's sons became ministers and were most of them just, upright and humane men.

Among them Fakhru'l-Mulk, the eldest son, was minister of Barkiāruq, and of Sultān Sanjar. Amīr Aḥmad was a prime minister of the Khalīf in Baghdād, and later on of Sultān Muḥammad b. Malikshāh; 'Imādu'l-Mulk held ministership under Malik BūriBar Alp Arslān and was his favourite. Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk was minister of Sultān Muḥammad. A poet writes in his praise:-

'O minister, son of minister,
Like pearls on a string,
Holder of office high,
Counsellors of King.'

The descendants of Fakhru'l-Mulk were Şadru'd-Din, Amir Ishu Nāşiru'd-Din Tāhir, Amir Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī and Amir Jamālu'l-Mul Yūsuf. Şadru'd-Din was murdered in the year 511 A.H. Nāşiru'd-Din Tāhir was minister for twenty years under Sultān Sanjar and Sultān Sulaymān, a fact which I have dealt with in detail in the Mashāribu't-Tajārib.

The descendants of Nāşiru'd-Din Tāhir were Şadru'd-Din, Qiwa d-Din al-Ḥasan and Shihābu'd-Din Ahmad.

Qiwāmu'd-Din al-Ḥasan b. Nāşiru'd-Din, who was minister of Sultān Sulaymān and Sultān Maḥmūd Khān, settled in Bayhaq in the year 553 A.H.

The descendants of Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abdu'llah, brother of Nidhām Mulk were Wazir Shihābu'l-Islām 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, and Amir Abu'l-Ḥasan Tāhir, whose daughter was married to Amir 'Alāu'd-Din Abu Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Jashmī.

The descendants of Khwāja Abu Naṣr, the brother of Nidhāmu'l Mulk, ~~as mentioned in the text~~ were Maṣṣūr, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, Badru'd-Din Muḥammad and Abu 'Alī al-Ḥusayn, whose descendants are unknown. 'Amidu'l-Mulk, 'Imādu'd-Din Abu Naṣr Kunderī, minister of Malikshāh was suspended from his office and then murdered in Marv. Thereupon Nidhāmu'l-Mulk was appointed minister on the 13th of Zilḥijja 455 A.H. He held the ministership for about thirty years, he too was assassinated & on the 10th of Ramaḍān 485 A.H. (here our author describes his fall).

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Bári' Faqlawí wrote an elegy on the death of Nidhámú'l-Mulk,
two verses of which run as follows:-

'The good fortune of Nidhámú'l-Mulk progressed every day
His ministership came as a blessing to people.
The peace of the world was due to him.
Now shall the day of Resurrection come.'

Sultán Maliksháh did not live long after him.. He was poisoned
through a servant in the month of Shawwál 485 A.H.¹ Nidhámú'l-
Mulk was assassinated only forty days before the death of Malik.
The Court poet Bári' Faqlawí wrote an elegy on the death of both
of them. The following four lines appear in the elegy:-

'The King of Kings has died
His high rank was known to heaven.
He went with Sadar on the journey.
Alas! their departure was too sudden.'

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1. The poison was that of "Shaham-i Aranb". {Ibn Khal (Vol. II
p.125) has written that when Maliksháh came to Baghdád a
second time, in the beginning of 485 A.H. he went hunting
owing to eating the flesh of the wild animal was taken ill
went back to Baghdád, dying the next day.} Arnab Bahri,
according to Qazwini, is an animal that has the head of a
rabbit and the body of a fish; but Avicenna said 'It was
small animal and poisonous; if one ate of it, one died.'
(Hayatu'l-Hayawán, printed in Egypt, 1330 A.H. Vol. I, p.40)

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Fakhrū'l-Mulk, was assassinated on the 10th of Muharram 500 A.H. I remember the event for I was in the school of Nishāpūr, at the time. Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd'ullah b. 'Alī b. 'Ishāq died in Sarakhs in the month of Zī'l-qa'da 499 A.H., whereas his son Shihābu'l-Islām was imprisoned in the fortress of Tirmīz.

Khawāja Amīrak Nazlabādi, whose genealogy has already been given, died in Safar 468 A.H. He was the grand-parent of Bahāu'd-Dīn Fakhrū'l-Islām 'Alī b. Abī'l-Qāsim al-Ḥusaynī al-Fariyūmadi, and of Amīr Dhahāru'd-Dīn 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Shihābu'l-Islām, also of Safīu'd-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Manṣūr b. Mukhtasū'd-Dīn. Manṣūr died in Rajab 503 A.H., and his brother Shaykhur-Ra'īshāh, in Zī'l-Qa'da 479 A.H.; and Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Manṣūr in Ramadān 519 A.H.; Badru'd-Dīn Muḥammad died on his way to Hajj, in 523 A.H.

In Tūs from the descendants of of Nidhāmu'l-Mulk were Naṣīru'd-Dīn Abu'l-Faḍl and Naṣr b. Aḥmad; in Baghdād Nidhāmu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, and Shihābu'd-Dīn Abu Naṣr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad; in Isfahān were Dhahīru'd-Dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Uthmān; and sons of Ṣadru'd-Dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Fakhrū'l-Mulk, who were Muḥammad, Abu Bakr, 'Uthmān, 'Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, and Kamālu'd-Dīn Yūsuf, in Hirāt lived 'Alāu'd-Dīn Abu 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Mas'ūd b. Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk.

In Juwayn, Mas'ūd, Muḥammad, and sons of Ibrāhīm b. Jamālu'l-Mulk. One of the sons of Jamālu'l-Mulk was Abu Sa'd b. Aḥmad, who left no children, dying in the town of Sabzwār on the 12th

Sha'bān 549 A.H. From Jamālu'l-Mulk, in Shādīyākh and Kalyan, were descended Sādaru'd-Dīn Mas'ūd and his brother Tāju'd-Dīn Maḥmūd. Both of them came from good families on both sides, and their mother was a daughter of Qāqīu'l-Quqāt Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sa'īd. Their grandmother was a daughter of Abī 'Alī'al-Ḥusay b. al-Mudhaffar Ra'īs of Bayhaq.

Descendants of Qiwāmu'd-Dīn Abu Bakr Ra'īs of Khurāsān were Ruknu'd-Dīn al-Ḥasan, 'Alāu'd-Dīn 'Uthmān, Bahāu'd-Dīn Mas'ūd, Mu'ayyidu'd-Dīn Yūsuf, Sādar'u'd-Dīn Yā'qūb, 'Umadat'u'd-Dīn 'Alī, 'Izu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad, Nāsīru'd-Dīn Muḥammad, Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Qāsim, 'Abdu'l-Malik, Qiwāmu'd-Dīn Ra'īsu'l-Mashriq. Muḥammad b. Tāhir b. Abdu'llah died in Jashm, in Ramaḍān 556 A.H., Qiwāmu'd-Dīn in 557 A.H., and Ruknu'd-Dīn in Nishāpūr in the year 560 A.H.

Now we come to the history and story.

When Ishāq, the father of Nidhāmu'l-Mulk, was on his death-bed he brought forth five thousand Diram-i-Maḥmūdī (a coin of the time of the Sultān Maḥmūd), all he could save during his life. He delivered the money into the hands of Khwāja Abu'l-Ḥasan and appointed him guardian of his sons. Later on Abu'l-Ḥasan entered the service of the chief of Khurāsān, Abu'l-Faql Sūrī b. al-Mu'tar, serving him with such honesty, ~~and~~ fidelity and straightforwardness that he was raised to the position of a collector of revenue for Tās, which he held for many years. He

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married there, and there Nidhāmu'l-Mulk was born. A poet writes

'Every minister, man of learning, poet born in Tūs
Is a Nidhāmu'l-Mulk, Ghazālī or Firdawsī.'

Now the Saljuqs caused great disturbances during the reign of Maḥmūdī kings, which was nearing its end. The wealth of the country was exhausted; taxes were held in abeyance, but nevertheless Sūrī forced Khwāja Abu'l-Ḥasan to pay the sum of fifty thousand dirams for the deficit in the revenue of Tūs. The Khwāja raised upon his property and office a sum amounting to thirty thousand dirams, and for the remaining amount he gave his written undertaking to pay.

Afterwards Sūrī fled to Ghaznī, and the Khwāja, with Nidhāmu'l-Mulk, came to Bayhaq. Though Nidhāmu'l-Mulk was yet a young boy, he was wise beyond his years, and even in youth became a great statesman.

My grandfather Shaykh u'l-Islām Amīrak related to me the following:- 'At this period the governor of Tūs was Ra'īs Ḥamza b. Muḥammad; and where now stands a tavern of his father Abu Abdullāh Muḥammad, stood the government building of Khusrāwjird. I had at this time resigned from the post of Qādīship, and arrived at Bayhaq.

One day, when I was going to pay my compliments to Ra'īs Ḥamza, I beheld Abu'l-Ḥasan, who was sitting in a shop in the market, and the young Nidhāmu'l-Mulk was with him. Khwāja Abu'l-Ḥasan said

me that he had been waiting for me a long time, and could not get permission to enter the Amir's residence. I then went to see the Amir, and during our talk I told him that once Khwāja Abu'l-Ḥasan had been a wealthy man and an official, but that now, on account of misfortune, he had become poor, and was suffering accordingly, and it was not worthy of his generosity to prevent the Khwāja from entering his house, especially when he had come such a long distance - from Hazlábād. I also told him as hell is the place of the sinner, it is also for one who closes his door upon another and refuses his reasonable requests.

Ra'īs Ḥamza replied that I was right, 'but', he continued, 'notice that Khwāja Abu'l-Ḥasan's son looks haughty and poses himself like a great man although he has not attained a high position. It is not necessary to question a man about the secrets of his heart; his face itself will tell them. Therefore I do not wish to see him; but if the Khwāja comes alone he is welcome.'

Abu'l-Ḥasan entered alone, and after paying his compliments to the Amir, said that he was going to Ghaznī because he was a friend of Wazīr Aḥmad b. Abdu'ḡ-Ṣamad al-'Abbāsī, and he was afraid that he (the Amir) would be greatly displeased if he went away without seeing him. He then left for Ghaznī.

At Ghaznī, after having visited a bath court, he came out, when Ṣūrī passed the door of the court and seeing the Khwāja, he recognized him and cried out (Oh, you have yourself come here

Now our task is easy; and then he ordered his men to arrest Khwāja Abu'l-Ḥasan, which was done accordingly.

It was the month of Ramaḍān, after the iḥṭār dinner was served, and the Khwāja was presented before Šūrī. The Khwāja sat down gloomily, evidently distressed, unable to eat or drink; Šūrī happened to see him, and exclaimed 'Oh, Khwāja, in the month of Ramaḍān everybody should join in the dinner after the iḥṭār. The Khwāja replied 'When there is no peace of mind; when one's heart burns, sorrow spoils his appetite. Moreover I require no food; there is but a short time remaining between myself and the Day of Judgement; food is not necessary in the Other World, where the provisions consist of piety, good deeds and repentance. Whatever I had, you have forcibly taken from me, and still you ask for fifty thousand dirams, which is utterly beyond my power to present to you. God only can bring things into existence from nothingness. Those who are wise; those above others; the great authority, will pardon me for not partaking at the dinner'.

Šūrī, upon his harsh and bold speech, was moved, and ordered a servant to bring pen and ink. These were forthcoming, and Šūrī wrote a draft for twenty thousand dirams and threw it before the Khwāja, saying 'This is nothing compared with the boldness you have exhibited before me. As you are not tasting food, I shall not have the honour of dining with you'. Abu'l-Ḥasan then ^{exclaimed} ~~exclaimed~~ 'Oh, Chief of Khurāsān, you have become greater by your generous deed

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and have thus raised your position higher by your great qualities and actions and,

'Your gift has made me glad,

Such qualities in heaven would glow like stars'.

'The Khwaja further said to me' (our author's grandfather says) 'I cannot express the joy I felt that night; it was a night of 'Id to me. The other day also I presented myself at the Court of the Amir, who looked at me for a moment, and then lowered his head. I was about to leave, when a servant of the Amir came ~~to me~~ and asked me to accompany him to the residence of the Amir, who, after the conclusion of his court duties came to see me there, and treated me with every courtesy. The Amir then told me to call on him the next day, when he said he would bestow more favours and honours upon me, and he asked me to write a message of thanks, in beautiful language, saying that thanks caused a benefactor to increase his favours. Moreover, he ~~mentioned~~ ^{declared} that these were the last days of that government¹, and such a message should not be addressed in anything like terms of reprobation.

This command I obeyed instantly, expressing my thanks in poetic form though the gift had not then been bestowed upon me. The Amir then said ~~to me~~ 'The favours are not yet bestowed upon you, and you are presenting your thanks for nothing. What a strange man you are'.

1. Saljuq.

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Now for the thirty thousand dirams I had been forcibly deprived of, the Amir wrote an order on the treasury. Thus the incident ended amicably.' "

Our author says "I have given a detailed description of Khwāja Abu'l-Hasan because he came from the district of Bayhaq."

The Arrangement of the Work and Contents of the Chapters.

The work has been divided by the author into six parts containing a good many chapters; some of them which concern unimportant persons and events we have thought best to omit; others are as follows:-

Folio

	Preface.	
	Doxology.	1b
	Genealogy.	2a
	Lamentation on the decline of sciences in the author's time, especially those that were the special glory of the Arabs; such as ḥadīth and ansāb.	2b
	Sciences peculiar to different countries.	3a
	Charms, importance and advantages of the study of history.	3b
	Principal countries of the world.	11a
	Standard works of history.	11b
	Histories of countries, cities.	12b
Part	Peculiarities of Bayhaq.	13b
Chapter	"Companions" who came to Bayhaq.	14a
"	Muslim Conquest of Bayhaq by Abdu'llah b. 'Amr in 330 A.H. = 650 A.D.	15a
Part	The climate of Bayhaq.	15b
Chapter	Characteristics of various countries.	17a
"	Diseases peculiar to each country.	17b
"	Capitals of various countries.	18b

"	Dependence of climate upon the elements.	19c
Part	Etymology of Bayhaq; its limits and its divisions	
Chapter	into twelve parts called Rub'.	19i
Part	Foundation of Sabzwār, and memorable events which	
Chapter	took place there from the time of Bahman b. Isfan-	
"	diyār to 455 A.H.	22a
"	The great mosque of Sabzwār in the time of Hamza b.	
"	-Azarak al-Khārijī.	28a
"	Announcement of the name of Sultān Alp Arslān	
"	Muḥammad b. Chaghar Beg. in the Khutba, in 455 A.H.	30a
Part	Ancient families of Sayyids in Bayhaq.	30b
Chapter	Tāhirid Kings.	37a
"	Saffārid Kings.	37b
"	Sāmānids.	38a
"	Mahmūdids.	39b
"	Saljūqids.	40a
"	The House of Nidhāmu'l-Mulk.	41a
"	Various families of Bayhaq, as hereunder:-	
"	Muhallabis.	47b
"	Fawladvand; the noblest family of Daylāmis.	52b
"	Hākimis; the author's family	57b
"	Bayhaqīs; the author's family on his mother's side.	61b
"	Mukhtāris.	65a
"	Dāris.	67a
"	Mikālīs.	67b
"	Mustawfīs.	68a
"	'Azizīs.	68b

	'Ambáris.	Fol. 69a.
	Háṭimis.	71a.
	Sáldáris.	72a.
	'Ammáris.	72a.
	Shaddádis.	72b.
	Anmáṭis.	73a.
	Mahmiyyis	73a.
	Qádis.	73b.
	Bazzádis.	74a.
	Dilqandis.	74b.
	Zayyádis.	74b.
	Descendants of Kámah.	76a.
	Amir Násiru'd-Da ^w la Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Ibráhim b. Saymjúr.	77a.
	Badílis.	78a.
	'Amidís.	78b.
Part.	'Ulamá', Imáms and other learned men who were born in Bayhaq or dwelt there.	79a.
Chapter	House of Dilshádis.	121a.
"	Descendants of Kisá'í.	133a.
	Hamzís.	142b.
	Mujáhidís.	142b.
	Khatibís.	143b.
	Sayyids of Bayhaq.	148b.
	Writers of Persian verses in Bayhaq.	150a.

Men learned in Arabic and Persian literature.	Fol. 153b.
Eminent men of Bayhaq.	154b.
Memorable events in Bayhaq from the incursion of Hamzah Azarak 213 A.H. to the author's time.	156a.
Ancient events which occurred in Bayhaq.	158b.
Remarkable things peculiar to Bayhaq.	162a.
Story of the winter resorts of Kishmar and Fariyumad.	164b.
Siege of Sabzwär by Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla Maliku'l- Mashriq 561 A.H.	166a.
Moral precepts and anecdotes.	166b.
The end.	170b.

Principal Countries of the World.

Our author mentions in the following the principal countries of the world, as they were known in his time.

1. The country of Zanj is also known as Zanjibár. After the name of this great country a city is named, Sáfálatu'x-Zanj.

2. Sudan is in the far west of Persia. Its capital is 'And

3. Yaman: its great cities are, San'á, 'Adan, and Bahran.

4. Hind (India). In this country there are many great cities¹; one of them being Bársi, which was destroyed by Sultā Mahmūd, with one hundred thousand artillery, between the early morning and the first prayer before daybreak. Another city is Baharwala.

5. Chín or Maháchín; the capital is Sanqá.

6. Iskandariya.

16. 'Iráq.

7. Egypt.

17. Ahwáz.

8. Bawárih.

18. Paris.

9. Sind.

19. Kirmán.

10. Turkistán.

20. ⁱⁿ'Umán.

11. Bazbar.

21. Jabalán.

12. Africa.

22. Daylamán.

13. Ardan.

23. Shirwán.

14. Shám.

24. Tabaristán.

15. 'Arab and Tiháma.

25. Mazandarán.

1. These cities may have been well-known and great at that time, but are small towns now.

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| 26. Qomus. | 39. Kara-j. |
| 27. Quhistán. | 40. Rome. |
| 28. Kábul. | 41. Ígarbayján. |
| 29. Bust. | 42. Haraz. |
| 30. Ghur and Gharsa. | 43. Rás and Alan (perhaps
Alman - Germany). |
| 31. Sijistán and Nimrúz. | 44. Saqláb. |
| 32. Khwérazm. | 45. Takháristán. |
| 33. Khurásán. | 46. Blúr. |
| 34. Saqans and Bulghar. | 47. Qasmír. |
| 35. Farghana. | 48. Biládu'th-thalj. |
| 36. Máwarau'n-Nahr. | 49. Su'úd. |
| 37. Bu'ár-i-Rám. | 50. Saghaybán. " |
| 38. Arman. | |

After this he mentions the "country of destruction". (Perhaps he meant to say that all these cities would be destroyed). He further stated that fifty of them were famous at that time, and each country had many districts and each district many towns.

Capitals of various countries.

The names of several other capital cities of various countries are given as follows:-

"The capital of Arabia is Mecca; of 'Irdq was Bagrah but is now Baghdád, which is also known as Dáru's-Salám; of Kábul, Ghazna; of Máwaráu'n-Nahr, Samargand; of Khurásán, Marv; of Yaman, San'd; in the west (of Persia) Sus and Cartaba; of Shám, Dimashq; according to some, Jerusalem; of Rome, Constantinople, of ~~Tabaria~~

Divisions of Bayhaq.

Our author describes the twelve divisions of Bayhaq, called "Rub'" ~~Qasab~~ during the reign of Abdu'llah b. Tahir, and this shows the geographical situation of the villages and towns existing at that period. Some of the towns exist no longer. In the following are mentioned a few towns and villages under each division:-

1. A'la'r-Rasáq; under this division are:-

Sanjaridar, Annábád Bayhaq, Ahmadábád, ~~Kanizá~~, Ma'áábád, Kurúzád, Nazlábád, Azád-Mikhar, Ziyýádábád, Háritha, Halín, Husaynábád, ^{Sidi} ~~Baghan~~, Dilqand, Ezí, Bargábád, Anka and 'Abdu'llahábád, (some people include Saláhábád) and the village of Sidi is also said to be under Dilqand; some say that Sanjaridar is under the division of Ríwáq

2. Sabzwár: under this division are:-

'Abdur-Rahímí, Ráq, Kuhnáb, Rázqan, Qamanwán, Safansík the new and old; Ahmadábád, Baghan and others.

3. Tabas: (meaning the spring of hot water), under this division are:-

Afjank, Hárithábád, Qárzí, Bazqán, Gurdábád, Peghuábád, Sayfábád, Shírin, Dirandar, Şuha, Kalímábád, and others.

4. Zambah: (meaning the land that produces fruits and provisions) When Bahram b. Yazdgurd also called Bahrámgúr arrived at that place, he ordered fruit trees and grain to be cultivated there, and the town was called Zambah accordingly.

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Under this division are:-

Anjumad, Gunbad, Kaizqan, Shashtamad, Bérárfq, Ushtur, Kanidar, Badakh, Tarzaq, 'Alfábád, Sabah, Ruh, Abí'l-Aswad, Jásik, Kalábisk, Bíd, Khasídar, Badlawíábád, Jábirábád, Jallárkarán, Fízen, Tárisk, Bídastána, Zaríndar, Shadíakh, and others.

5. Khwashád: under this division are:-

Barqan, Sataj, Daren Másin, Kámubád, high and low, and Muslimábád.

6. Khusrawjird: under this division are:-

Ábárf, 'Uthmánábád, Sadír, Hafír, Kaskan, Karráb, Dasrah, Baytu'n-Nár, Fasanqar, Bazzah, Naháb, Bláshábád, Shárah, Darbár, and others.

7. Bashtin: Naman, Rewd, Dastjird, Námin, Gurdábád, Shi'rán, Balájird, Báfráh, Sárúgh, and Bashtanaq, and others.

8. Dewrah: there are many villages under this division; and it is also known as "Hilly division". A few villages for instance are:-

Milún, Burún, Dumin, Wirabád and 'Abdu'l-Malikí, and others.

9. Káh: under this division are:-

Jashm, Bárughan, Mughítha, Sanfaríz, Yahyá-ábád, Manzí Faryáb, Shaquqán and Khusraw'ábád, and others.

10. Muzinan: under this division are:-

Máyán, Makurád, Dáwarzan, Şadkharú, Tárz, Bahmanábá
Mihrga, Mashdan, Súwez, and others.

11. Faríyúmad: under this division are:-

Ishaqabád, Firúzabád, Nahardan, and others.

12. Basákúh: this division has very few villages under it
merely Beshin, Naman and others.

At first Khuwár and Tabarân were under the district of Qúmus, now they are in the district of Bayhaq. Khuwár is called Khuwár of Bayhaq, and its taxes are collected by revenue authority of Bayhaq. The district extends from the village of Saba, which is on the border of the country of Tarthít ? to the village Nudéh Khalsa ? Amír Abdu'llah b. said that the district of Bayhaq was 'the finest district of Khurásán.'

During the reign of Abdu'llah b. Táhir, there were three hundred and ninety-five villages in the district of Bayhaq the revenue of three hundred and twenty-one villages was 178,796 dirams. Its "tenth" from seventy-four villages was 37,800 dirams."

PECULIAR THINGS OF BAYHAQ.

1. ~~Learned and literary men of Bayhaq.~~² Bayhaq in olden days on account of its men of letters^I was called Tihámatu's-Sughrá. Even at the present day (the author's time), when learning is not taken as seriously as it used to be, and scholars are rare there are yet many learned men in Bayhaq.
2. It is unusual that a caligraphist^{should write fine} wrote naskh; the greatest writer of this kind is 'Alí b. Ismá'il al-Kátib.
3. Learned men were born in Bayhaq, highly qualified in different branches of learning; unfortunately so long as they resided in Bayhaq no-one took much notice of them; but when they left that place, wherever they visited, they were received with high regard, and often were given great positions.
4. In the villages of Halín and Nawqáriz there is a kind of pine-tree, which is not to be found in any other district.
5. In Bághín and Ezí there are to be seen strange poultry, and enormously fat cockrels, whose like are not to be found elsewhere.
6. In Sabzwár there are thirteen subterranean canals, most of them running through the town.

1. See also Mu'jamu'l-Buldan of Yáqút, (Egyptian edition, Vol. I. pp. 346 and 347.), where he states that numerous learned men and authors were born in Bayhaq.
Cf. N.Q. translation, p. 148.

7. In the district the Friday prayer is offered in fifteen villages and towns.
8. There is a village called Kurázád, in Khurásán, in which the water is very light and pleasant.
9. It is strange that the water in Sabzwár and 'Abdu'r-Rahímí comes from sulphurous soil, which usually causes diseases, but here it apparently does not.
10. There are shoemakers in Daywar, who make beautiful embroidered shoes which are unrivalled elsewhere.
11. There is a kind of water in Shashtamád, which can be kept for a considerable period, without changing its qualities. There are grown there figs, both white and yellow, which never become dry.
12. In Kanídar there are pomegranates which have very thick skins, are very juicy, and have small seeds.
13. In Ushtur and Shashtamád, there are green grapes called Sarustáni, delicious and sweet, and with fine skins.
14. In Kuhnab, milk is to be seen which is even whiter than the snow at the Poles.
15. In Tabas grow sweet pears whose like are not to be found in any other place. There is also a kind of walnut to be found, of which Abu'l-'Abbás Quṭnī said that he obtained five hundred man oil in one year from the one tree only. There is also a kind of fruit called Bilak which has many

excellent qualities, and is not to be met with elsewhere. In the mountains of Tabas there is a large coal-mine unrivalled in the surrounding districts.

16. Khusrawjird and 'Ábárí produce certain kinds of fruit red and white, resembling the apricot, called Bulbuli, Sa'idai and by other names.
17. In Kundqan there are to be seen plums as big as the peaches of Marv.
18. In Mihr and Shashtamad is grown a certain kind of reed from which excellent pens are made.
19. In Khusrawabád is produced a kind of tapestry which is not made elsewhere.
20. In Dumin and its suburbs a certain fine grass is grown, which is extremely useful.
21. In Faríyúmad grow yellow and red figs, which possess the best medicinal qualities mentioned in the Qánún of Avicenna.
22. In Sadír are grown very fine melons, which are called Tukmání.
23. In Bághan and Dilqand are grown melons of India; in Ráz and Kuhnáb melons of Bukhárá."

Great men who were born in Bayhaq.

"In the district of Bayhaq numerous great men were born, such as Amir Abu Talha Sarkab, Ibrahīm b. Sarkab, who at first were yeomen, or land-lords, of Ispand, afterwards becoming rul

Sarhang Sawtigin came from Haster, Qábús, the King of Syria and of Rome, came from the village of Salúwá, in the district of Haf, and from there came also the famous Imám Sufyán Thawrí. During Thawrí's lifetime, in Bishak, a great battle took place between Manuchihr and Afrásiyáb.

Blash b. Fírúz, who founded Blashabad, in the district of Bayhaq, waged war with his brother Qubád b. Fírúz, the father of Nawshírwán, seized the country, and defeated his brother.

From the district of Bayhaq came also al wazír Abu'l-'Abbás Ja'far b. Muhammad Kharga, the minister of the Samanid kings. Others were Khwája Abu'l-Hasan Fındár, Amir Abu'l-Faql, Amir Abu Ja'far, Amir Zayyád, Abu Sa'id al-Fáryábí, who was the first ambassador of the King (?), Mu'ínu'l-Mulk Abu'l-Qásim 'Alí, who was deputy ~~of~~ minister in the time of Sultán Sanja. Also in Bayhaq was born Khwája Amírak, Dabír (of Sultán Mahmúd) and his brother Khwája Abu Naşr Dabír, who was a collector of revenue of Ray and a minister of Sultán Mas'úd, Táju'd-Dawla Abu'l-Qásim Ahmad b. Abdu'llah al-Bayhaqí, who held the ministership of the Khwárazmsháhs. Another wazír was Sharafu Dín Dhahíru'l-Mulk, who has already been described in detail,

and there were many other great men."

placed.

An account of the Sayyids of Bayhaq.

Our author says that he described the Sayyids of Bayhaq and their descendants in his book named Lubabu'l-Ansá. The Táríkh-i-Bayhaq should not be deprived of a description of the venerable people. After showing great respect for praising the dynasty, the author mentions the name of Ajal-Ruknu'd-Dín Abu Mansúr and his sons Jalalu'd-Dín 'Azíz and 'Imádu'd-Dín Yahya, who were the originators of the family in Bayhaq. Their genealogy is given (f. 148b).

One of their ancestors Muḥammad b. Zabárah was Amír of Madina, and his son was Abu Ja'far Aḥmad Amír of Muta Tabaristán in the reign of ad-Dá'í ila'llah, the ~~Imám~~ ~~Muḥammad~~, inhabitants of Tabaristán accepted him as their Khalif. Disturbances taking place in the town, he fled for Nishápúr and settled down there. His son Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad az-Zabárah was born, and grew up, in Nishápúr, on he too was accepted as Khalif by the inhabitants.

The fact is chronicled by al-Ḥakim Abu 'Abdu'llah in his Táríkh-i-Nishápúr, who wrote that Abu'l-Ḥasan's name was announced in the Khuṭba as Khalif of Khurásán. ~~Amir~~

~~reverenced there.~~ His son, ~~the author wrongly gives the same name as the father.~~ Abu'l-Hamid, was also accepted as a Khalif, his name being repeated in the Khutba. Abu'l-Hamid was a hafidh of the Qu'ran, a traditionist, a poet; he also possessed a great knowledge of history. He was accepted as Khalif during the reign of Amir Abu'l-Hasan Nasr b. Ahmad; being pressed to visit Bukhara, he stayed there for some time.

Abu'l-Hamid was the first 'Alawi who was granted an allowance by the court of the King of Khurasan, and so he was known as "Sahibu'l-Arzاق". Abu'l-Hamid lived to be more than 100 years old." (Here our author mentions the names of different members of the family f.149a.)

Notable characteristics of people of various countries.

In the following are described the characteristics of people of different countries, as known at that time. For example, philosophers of Greece; goldsmiths of Haran; clothmakers of Jazira; writers of Baghdad; paper makers of Samarkand; dyers of Sijistan; talented men of Tus; charming complexions of Bukhara; painters of China; archers of Turkey; respectable people of Ghazni; wizards and jugglers of India; delicate people of Kirman; wrestlers of Fars; warriors of Qonia and Angora; gladiators of Rome; mystics of Dinan; thieves and burglars of Ray; gluttons and pious people of Khwarezm, and learned men of Bayhaq.

The origin and etymology of Bayhaq.

About the etymology of Bayhaq different geographers have said different things, but the ^{authoritative} ~~best~~ is the one given in the Tarikh-i-Bayhaq, the book also gives the names of the founder of Bayhaq, and of the founders of other towns.

About the origin of Bayhaq our author writes, "It was founded by Bahmanu'l-Mulk b. Isfandiyyar, in whose reign Bayhaq greatly flourished.

About the etymology of Bayhaq he quotes different opinions. First: "It was derived from 'beh', which in original Persian was 'behin' (the best). Being the best suburb of Nishapur it was called by that name."

Second: "It was 'peh' meaning foot. The land of this place being measured by the feet."

Third: "Some people say that there was a man in the time of Bahmanu'l-Mulk called 'Beh' who founded a village close by Aminabád; and from his name the village was called Bayhaq; as Husaynabád was called after 'Alí-Husayn Máz; Hárithabád and Ma'ádabád were called after Hárith and Ma'ád.

The origin and foundation of Sabzwár.

About the origin and foundation of Sabzwár, our author writes: "The ~~origin~~^{called} Sabzwár was ^{and} ~~was~~ founded by Sásúba, who was governor of Nishápúr during the reign of Khusraw, the founder of the towns of Khusrawabád, of Bayhaq and Khusrawj

Sásúba left long-lived sons, who were also governors of Nishápúr. They did all they could to improve the town, by introducing all sorts of improvements, planting fruit trees and many other kinds of trees. In course of time Sabzwár became a great city, noted for its beauty and fertility. At first the town was called Sanzwár and Sazwár, as Nishapur was called Binái-Shápúr Malik and was afterwards changed to Nishápúr."

The author of Mir'átu'l-Buldan ~~says~~ that 'Sabzwár was the capital of Bayhaq, and was a great and ancient city abounding with fruit trees; was of fertile soil, and the inhabitants were chief authors and learned men, the majority of them being Shi'ite extremists. ~~as Mir'átu'l-Buldan states~~

1. See Mir'átu'l Buldan, p. N.º. translation, p.184.

The foundation and origin of Nishápúr.

Nishápúr was founded by Shapúr Malik. The original name of the town was Binái-Shapúr; afterwards 'be' and 'ye' were omitted, and 'alif' changed into 'ye', and in the Lahlawi language 'nai' means 'bina' (foundation), so 'Naishapúr' means that which was founded by Shapúr.

The Muslim Conquest of Bayhaq.

About the Muslim conquest of Bayhaq, our author relates that 'Abdullah b. 'Ámir entered Bayhaq with his army in the year 30 A (=650 A.D.), by way of Kirmán and Díwra; and from the latter place he entered Bayhaq. The inhabitants of Bayhaq did not wage war ~~with~~ him, and coolly said that they would embrace Islám if the inhabitants of Nishápúr ^{would do} ~~did~~ the same. On hearing this, 'Abdu'llah left for Nishápúr.

From there he sent Rabí'Hārithi towards Sijistán, and Abnar b. Qays to Quhistán. The winter having begun he himself left for Sarakhs, and upon reaching the town of Píl Túm, he encountered a great fall of snow. He thereupon returned to Nishápúr, and on the way conquered Sháristán, and Qahandar. He afterwards sent many of his officers to various places, and Aswad b. Kulthúm al-'Adwi to the district of Bayhaq. Aswad was killed in Bayhaq and his deputy continued the war with the inhabitants. After a short time they made peace with him.

the following is a description of a battle which took place
in Bayhaq in the year 562 A.H. in which catapults were employed
and the year is the last mentioned in the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq. /2

"Muḥyīd-d-Dawla wa'-d-Dīn Khusrav of Khurāsān came to Bayhaq with a great army on the 10th of Muharram 561 A.H. There was a severe battle, the southern ramparts of the city being destroyed by the stones hurled from the catapults. Very many were killed.

Isfahbud Fakhru'-d-Dawla Karsāf served the part of a mediator, and the war was brought to an end.

Maliku'-l-Mashriq then conquered Rahā'in. The nobility and their families were transferred to Nishāpūr, and he himself returned there on the 5th of Šafar 561 A.H.

Again, in Jumādā II 562 A.H., there was a battle on the west side of ^{Sabzwār} ~~Bayhaq~~, which lasted two months.

A party of great men of Khwārm, among whom were Amīr Peghu Najmu'-l-Mulk, and Būrī Basmali intervened, and peace was restored.

Here our author remarks "Kings and learned men are like rain and the green things of the earth. If the green is supported by rain it grows and develops; if not it fades away; and it is in this way that religion is strengthened by the support of kings.

PART III.

OTHER WORKS OF THE AUTHOR.

CHAPTER VI.

A COMPLETE ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE AUTHOR'S WORKS.

The following is a complete list of our author's works given in the *Irshād* and *al-Wāfi bi'l-Wafāyāt* of *Safadi*; other authors also have mentioned some of the books to which we have referred in the foot-notes:-

(الف)

- (1) كتاب اسر له القرآن مع الاجوبه جلدہ
- (2) معجزة القرآن جلدہ
- (3) الاغادة في كمال الشفا جلدہ
- (4) الاصول الفقه جلدہ
- (5) اقلية الاعمال النجومية جلدہ
- (6) احكام القرائات جلدہ
- (7) اربعة عن سداد المساحة جلدہ
- (8) الامانات في شرح الاقضية جلدہ
- (9) الفصاح البراهين في الاصول جلدہ
- (10) الاغادة في اثبات الحشر جلدہ
- (11) اربعة الرياض الربيع جلدہ
- (12) تفسير الفاظ المحامدة جلدہ

- (13) كتاب اشعاره جلدہ
- (14) الانتصار في الاشرار جلدہ
- (15) الاعتبار بالاقبال والادبار جلدہ
- (16) اسرار الاعتذار جلدہ
- (17) انوار اشعار الاشعار جلدہ
- (18) اداب السفراء جلدہ
- (19) اسرار الحكم جلدہ
- (20) اطعمه المرضى جلدہ
- (21) اسما الادوية وخواصها
- (22) مناقبها وهو مجموع تفاسير جلدہ
- (23) الحقائق جلدہ
- (24) لسانين الانس ودماسين جلدہ
- (25) الحديث في براعي النفس جلدہ
- (26) البلاغة الخفية جلدہ

1. *Safadi* "انراة" For all references to these books see *Irshād* Vol. V, pp. 211-213; *Safadi* vol. III, pp. 1-10.
2. *Safadi* "الاصاراة"
3. *Safadi* "في"
4. *Safadi* "على"
5. This book is not mentioned by *Safadi*. (6) *Safadi* "انوار اشعار"; J. B. H. 8.
6. *Jur. Huk. Islām*, p. 906.
7. This book is not mentioned by *Safadi*.
8. *Safadi* "كيس"

(ق)

(1)

(23) تاريخ بيهقي فارسي مجلده

(خ)

مجلده (33) خلاصة الريجة

(24) تعليقات فصول بقراط

(د) (7)

(34) درر السحاب ودرر السحاب

(25) قسمة صوان الحكم (تاريخ حكماء الاسلام)

مجلده

في الرسائل

(26) تحفة السعادة مجلده

مجلده

(35) درة الوشاح (8)

(27) التحرير في التذكير مجلداً

(ز)

(36) ذخاير الحكم (9)

(28) تنبيه العلاء على تمويه

المستبشرين بالعلاء مجلداً

(ح)

مجلده

(37) سراجين العقول

(29) جوامع الاحكام (4) ثلاث مجلدات

(38) سراج العارفين

(30) جلاء ضد اذ التلذذ في الاصول مجلده

(39) رتقيات الشبهات على

(ح)

خطايا المخططات بالجدال (40) مجلده

(31) حدائق الوسايل (5) قصص بالفارسي مجلده

الرسالة العظيمة في مدح

الانبياء عن طريق البلاء فارسي مجلداً

مجلده

بن الزنار

(32) قصص الانبياء في قصص

الانبياء عن طريق البلاء فارسي مجلداً

1. ~~Revised~~ See chapter IV for the ~~revised~~ MSS of this book.

2. See chapter VII for the MSS of this book.

3. Safadi, ~~vol. XII~~, f. 69a "التجريد". For all the references to Safadi see f. 686.

4. Safadi & Hajji Khalifa "جوامع احكام النجوم" Hajj Khal. Vol II p. 636, No. 4244

5. Hajj Khal. Vol. III, p. 215, No. 4996 "الى طرق الرسائل"

6. Safadi, "بالفارسية" (7). Safadi, "درر السحاب ودرر السحاب ترسل" Hajj Khal. Vol. III, p. 215, No. 4996

8. Safadi "درر السحاب" "وهو نسخة كتاب الوشاح مجلده" Jur. Huk. Jalām, f. 954. "شرح درية القفا"

9. Hajj Khal. Vol. III, p. 325, No. 5769. 10. Grohād. Mar

(ط) طرائق الوسائل الى حداثتي (49) (59)	(41) رسائل المتفرقة ⁽¹⁾
الرسائل (ع) مجلة	(مس) (42) كتاب السموم
(50) عقود الآلي مجلة	(ش) (43) شرح مشكلات المقامات
(51) كتاب العروض مجلة	مجلة (44) شرح الموجز المحرر
(52) عقود المضاحك فارسي مجلة	(45) شرح رسالة الطر ⁽³⁾
(53) عمر ليس النقايس ⁽⁵⁾ مجلة	(46) شرح الحماسة
(غ) (54) غرد الاقبيه مجلة	(47) شرح البخاري والتمام
(55) غرر الاقوال ⁽⁶⁾ مجلة	(48) شرح شهاب الاخبار ⁽⁴⁾
(56) غرر الاقبيه ⁽⁷⁾ مجلة	
(57) الفرائض بالجدول ⁽⁸⁾ مجلة	

1. Safadi, "رسالة" 2. Safadi "مشكل" 3. Irshād, margin "لغير" 4. Safadi "شرح الشهاب" 5. See chap. VIII under the heading of the text "دروس الاقوال" 6. Safadi and Haj Khal. Vol. II, p. 318, No. 5545 7. Irshād, margin "غرد الاقبيه" 8. Safadi "تجدول"

- (1) (ق) (63) قوام علوم الطب مجلدة
- (2) (ك) (64) تراجم آيات القرآن مجلدة
- (3) (ل) (65) مختار الحج في الأصول مجلدة
- (4) (م) (66) كتاب الرسائل مجلدة
- (5) (ن) (67) كتاب في الحساب مجلدة
- (6) (هـ) (68) لباب الحساب مجلدة
- (7) (و) (69) مختار تجارب مجلدة
- (8) (ز) (70) معارج نوح البلاغة وهو شرح الكتاب مجلدة
- (9) (ح) (71) المختصر من الفرائض مجلدة
- (10) (ط) (72) مدارات الأعمال الخمسة مجلدة
- (11) (ي) (73) صغرى ذات الحق والكره مجلدة
- (12) (ق) (74) والاصطلاب مجلدة
- (13) (ك) (75) المختصر في لفظ المعبر الذي صنعه الحكيم أبو البركات مجلدة
- (14) (ل) (76) مختار الدرجات في شرح كتاب النفاة مجلدة
- (15) (م) (77) العجالات الاعتبارية مجلدة
- (16) (ن) (78) صبح البلاء مجلدة
- (17) (هـ) (79) مجامع الاقوال وبدائع اربع مجلدات
- (18) (و) (80) نوح البلاغة الرشد في الامور مجلدة
- (19) (ز) (81) وشاح دمية القصر مجلدة
- (20) (ح) (82) الوقيعة في فكر الشريعة مجلدة

1. Haj. Khal. vol. IV, p. 579, No. 9628.

2. Ibid. vol. V p. 249, No. 10894.

3. See Chap. VII under the heading of f. 1000.

4. Ditto 5. Safadi "في"

6. Safadi "الاصطلاب" 7. Tar. Hist. Islam, p. 896.

8. Haj. Khal. vol. VI p. 442. No. 14242 "ولقاح روضه العصر"

9. Safadi "كبير"

CHAPTER VII.

The Author's other existing work,
the Tārīkh-i-Hukamāu'l-Islām.

A pity it is that of our author's many books almost all of them exist no longer.

But I think Professor Barthold, in his article in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, is not right when he says "of his (our author's) works there has only survived the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq. Perhaps it escaped the Professor's notice that our author's other ~~existing~~ work ~~exists~~ the Tārīkh-i-Hukamāu'l-Islām is mentioned by Brockelmann, and in the Berlin State Library and ^{exists} other ~~catalogues~~ libraries, to which we have already referred, but we shall deal with these in detail later on in this chapter.

2. Ency. Islām, Vol.I, p.592.

1. Irshad, Vol.V, p.592.

2. Brock, Vol.I, p.324.

Ber.Cat.Ar.MSS. No.10052, pm.737.

Dozy, Cat.Leyden, Vol.II, p.292. Cod. 133d, Gol.

Bashīr Ághá and Mullá Murád Libraries at Constantinople
Nos.494, 1408.

"Muntakhab min Kalām Abi'l-Fadl etc." Cat.Ar.MSS.Ber.
Lib. nO.8205, pēt. 600, f.33a.

This book, written in Arabic, is in many ways very important, for it discloses, and adds, valuable literary information about poets and authors, and so renders former information of little importance, and in any case necessary of amendment.

The *Tārīkh-i-Hukamāu'l-Islām* was completed sometime before the year 549 A.H. = 1154 A.D. as the author mentions it in the list of his works under the name of *Tatimmat-i-Siwānu'l-Hikmat*. But there is an event mentioned as occurring in the year 553 A.H. = 1158 A.D.²

I have gone through the book very minutely, and found that the years mentioned in it are successively from 545 to 549 A.H. other dates before that not being successive.

The year 553 A.H.

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1. *Irshād*, Vol.V, p.212, *Ṣafadī*, Vol.II, p.69a.
 2. *Tār.Huk.Islām*, p.80b.

is written only in one place. In my opinion, it seems just carelessness on the part of the copyist¹, and I think the number wrongly written 5 instead of 4. This can also be affirmed by the gap of 3 years after the description of successive years, as though nothing noteworthy had happened in that period. The most important reason is, if the author had not completed the book before the year 549 A.H. he would not have mentioned it in the list, as he did with his two other books, Lubābu'l-Ansāb and the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq.

We are also sure that our author did not write any other book called the Tārīkh-i-Hukamāu'l-Islām. Therefore, Tatimmat-i-Siwānu'l-Hikma or the Tārīkh-i-Hukamāu'l-Islām is one book, a point which our author also makes clear in the preface of the Tārīkh-i-Hukamāu'l-Islām.² This book reveals some interesting ~~and literary~~ information.

Firstly, it has so far been held that Chahār Maqāla contained the earliest account of 'Umar Khayyam. This being stated by Prof. Browne in his Literary History of Persia,³ and by 'Allāma Mirzā Muhammad Qazwini, who asserted that the account

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1. The copyist has committed a similar mistake in stating the year of completion of the book.
 2. Tār.Huk.Islām, f.2a.
 3. Lit.His.Per. Vol.II, p.214.

formed one of the principal features of the *Chahār Maqāla*.¹
 But it has now been discovered that the *Tārīkh-i-Hukamāu'l-
 Islām* of our author contains the earliest account of 'Umar
Khayyām.²

Our author was contemporary with the poet, had met him and
 discussed with him poetry and geometry, as we have mentioned
 previously in chapter II. The account is also the most
 lengthy one concerning the poet.

Secondly, it shows beyond a shadow of a doubt that the *Tārīkh-
 i-Hukamāu'l-Islām* ~~is our author's~~ is the book from which the
 famous author *Shahrazūrī* reproduced the second part of his
 well-known work *Nuzhatu'l-Arwāḥ wa Rawḍatu'l-Afrāḥ fi Tawārīḥ
 Hukamā-i'l-Mutaqaddimin wa'l-Muta'akhkhirin*.³ This book is
 divided into two parts; in the first part⁴ the author

1. *Chahār Maqāla*, pp. , 219.

2. *Tār.Huk.Islām*, f.66a. This is also stated in an article in
 the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London,
 V, part III, p.470, by my esteemed Prof. Sir E.Denison Ross
 and Prof. H.A.R.Gibb.

3. *Cat.Ar.MSS. Ber.Lib.No.10055, Mo.217.*

4. *Nuzhat*, ff.1-141a

has described "the ancient philosophers", for instance, Thal Pythagoras, Soocrates and others, and ends with Galen; in the second part¹ he has mostly described "modern authors" rather than "philosophers". He begins with Hunayn b. Isháq, a Christian author, and ends with Abu'l-Fatáh Yahyá. It simply amounts to this that the whole part dealing with the "modern philosophers" of the Nuzhatu'l-Arwáh is reproduced from the Tárikh-i-Hukamáu'l-Islám, but Shahrazúrí gives not the slightest indication that he is in any way indebted to any other author at all.

This plagiarism is of a similar nature to that committed in the Tárikh-i-Tabaristán, which plagiarizes from the Chahár Maqála²; so too does Bazm 'Árá from the Lubábu'l-Aláb³, as also does al-'Uráqa fi'l-Hikáyáti's Saljúqiyyá from the Rábatu's-Şudúr.⁴

Shahrazúrí did not even name our author among the learned men of Bayhaq, whom he describes in his Nuzhat, although our author was one of the greatest men of his time, a native of

1. Nuzhat, p.141a-195.

2. Chahár Maqála, preface, p.xiv.

3. Lubáb, Vol.I, p.6.

4. Rábat, preface, pp. xxxiv, xxxv.

Bayhaq, and had produced a great number of works. It is obvious that he deliberately avoided mention of our author; had he mentioned him he must have mentioned his books as well and so the real origin of the Nuzhat would have been discovered danger being the more likely in that he lived well within a century of our author's time.

We have compared both books and found only very slight variations in the text here and there, our author's arrangements and the very words he uses are reproduced almost throughout the work. The only difference being that in places, Shahrazúrí omits and sometimes cuts short the long and repeated titles, which our author is accustomed to set forth in full. In some places we find not only verbal changes, but changes in the construction of sentences, and in some sentences Shahrazúrí introduces here and there a few words and sometimes a few sentences of his own.

His plagiarism is quite clear where our author mentions either himself or his book and says, for instance, "I have seen a certain book", "I have written a fact in my book", "I heard from So-and-so", or "So-and so told me"; here Shahrazúrí omits these things, or substitutes "a certain historian relates", or some similar phrase of his own, then rigidly keeps to the text.

In support of this statement I may quote here a few

parallel passages from different parts of the books ~~in these~~ ^{underlined} those words and phrases which are at variance:-

The Tārīkh-i-Hukamā'u'l-Islām.

The Nuzhatu'l-Arwāḥ wa Hawāḍitu'l-Afrāḥ.

حنين بن اسحاق المترجم - كان اول من نسر اللغة اليونانية ونقلها الى السريانية والعربية ولم يوجد في هذا الا زمانه بعد الاسكندرية منه باللغة العربية واليونانية كان في عهد المأمون والمعتصم - كان بعد اذى المولود وقد نشأ بالشام وتعلم بها وكان يدخل بيعة النصارى ويتعبد على قوانين شريعة المسيح عليه السلام

حنين بن اسحاق المترجم - كان اول من نسر اللغة اليونانية ونقلها الى السريانية والعربية ولم يوجد في هذا الا زمانه بعد الاسكندرية منه باللغة العربية واليونانية وكان في عهد المأمون والمعتصم - بعد اذى المولود ونشأ بالشام وتعلم بها وكان يدخل بين النصارى ويتعبد على قوانين شريعة المسيح -

الشيخ ~~الحافظ~~ ابو نصر فارابي - هو محمد بن محمد بن طاهر خان من فاراب تركستان وهو الملقب بالعلم الثاني ولم يكن افضل منه من حكماء الاسلام وقيل اربعة اثنان قبل الاسلام وهما اسطوخاروس والاسكندر واثنان في الاسلام وهما ابو نصر والبوعلى وكان بين ذوات البوعلى ولدان البوعلى ثلثون سنة وكان ابو على قليد التصانيفه -

الشيخ الفاضل محمد بن محمد - وهو من فاراب تركستان وهو الملقب بالعلم الثاني ولم يكن افضل منه من حكماء الاسلام وقيل الحكماء اربعة اثنان قبل الاسلام وهما اسطوخاروس والاسكندر واثنان في الاسلام وهما ابو نصر والبوعلى وكان بين وفاته وولادة ابى على ثلثون سنة وكان ابو تلميذ تصانيفه -

ابو سهل المسيحي كان حكما استولى عليه الطب وتصانيفه في الطب كثيرة مفيدة وقد ارتبطه خوارزم شاه مأمون بن محمد ومولد ابى سهل من جرجان وقد نشأ وتعلم ببغداد وصنف كتابا بالهيفاء في التعبير وكان تصانيفه في الملل لا يحضر مع النصارى ويتعبد في منزله -

ابو سهل المسيحي كان حكما استولى عليه الطب وتصانيفه في الطب كثيرة مفيدة وقد ارتبطه خوارزم شاه مأمون بن محمد ومولد ابو سهل من جرجان ومنشأ وتعلم ببغداد وصنف في اربعة خوارزم شاه كتابا بالهيفاء في التعبير وكان تصانيفه في الملل لا يحضر مع النصارى ويتعبد في منزله -

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| 1. Nuzhat Tar. Huk. Islām. f. 26, l. 15. | 2. Nuzhat, f. 141 b, l. 7. |
| 3. Ibid. f. 10 a, l. 5. | 4. Ibid. f. 146 b, l. 3. |
| 5. Ibid f. 52 b, l. 1. | 6. Ibid f. 155 b, l. 3. |

أبو الجرحان محمد بن أحمد البغدادي وديون مدينة
بالسند - وكان من أجداد المهديين وقد سافر
في طلب العلم في بلاد الهند أربعين سنة وصنف
كتباً كثيرة وله مناظرات -

أبو القاسم عبد الرحمن بن أبي صادق - نال في الخلافة
مرتبة عظيمة خصوصاً في الطب - - - - -
ولهم مكانة داخل
انزوا داخل بعض الناس عليه وبين يديه أطباء من
الفواكه فقبل إلى أنه لا فرق بين هذا الأطباء والفواكه
لصل نفعها منها بالراية ولطبيب المعاد

محمد الخوارزمي - كان والده وزير ميسر وهو
ترك استولى على خوارزم وكان محمد حكيماً أدبياً
فاضلاً من تلامذته إلى البركات واستولى عليه نوع
من السور - - -

أبو الحكيم أبي ربحان محمد بن أحمد البغدادي
كان من أجداد المهديين وقد سافر في بلاد
الهند أربعين سنة وصنف كتباً كثيرة رايت
أثرها بخطه وله مناظرات -

أبو القاسم عبد الرحمن بن أبي صادق - نال في الخلافة
مرتبة عظيمة خصوصاً في الطب - - - - -
ولهم مكانة داخل
انزوا داخل بعض الناس عليه وبين يديه أطباء من
الفواكه فقبل إلى أنه لا فرق بين هذا الأطباء والفواكه
لصل نفعها منها بالراية ولطبيب المعاد

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فاضلاً من تلامذته إلى البركات واستولى عليه نوع
من السور - - -

1. Jar. Hist. Islam, f. 38a, l. 9.
2. Nuzhat, f. 170b, l. 12.
3. Ibid. f. 63b, l. 6.
4. Ibid. 157a, l. 12.
5. Ibid. f. 38a, l. 9.
6. Ibid. 170a, l. 12.

If the *Tārīkh-i-Hukamāu'l-Islām* had not been in existence of course nobody would have suspected otherwise than that it an original work. (We think *Shahrazūrī* was not at all justified in presenting the *Nuzhat* as his original work) It was really the case up till now, and the original being very rare it enjoyed popularity, and had been utilized by later authors.

After comparing the "modern philosophers" part of the *Nuzhat*, it created a doubt in my mind about the "ancient philosophers" part of it; though it is removed from the subject in hand we briefly refer to the fact. To make myself sure on the point I searched other books and found that that part was also taken from other books, and here I may quote parallel passages from the *Nuzhat* and *Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a*:-

The *Nuzhatu'l-Arwāḥ*.

Tahqīqatun 'l-Mubbā

فتباغورس الحكيم الفيلسوف المتأله
وكان ليد بن دقليس بزمان واخذ
الحكمة عن اصحاب سليمان بن داود
عليه السلام بمصر حين دخلوا اليها من
بلاد الشام وكان قد اخذ الهندسة
قديم عن المصريين ثم رجع الى بلاد
يونان وادخل عندهم علم الهندسة وعلم
الطبيعة وعلم الدين واستخرج بذلك
علم الايمان -

فتباغورس الحكيم الفيلسوف المتأله
وكان فتباغورس ليد بن دقليس
بزمان واخذ الحكمة عن اصحاب سليمان
بمصر حين دخلوا اليها من بلاد الشام
وكان اخذ الحكمة الهندسة قديم عن
المصريين ثم دخل الى بلاد يونان وادخل
عندهم الهندسة وعلم الطبيعة وعلم
الدين واستخرج بذلك الموسيقى -

2

سقراط طيس الزاهد الحكيم المتأله وكان
سقراط من تلاميذ فيثاغورس واقتصر من
الفلسفة على العلم الالهية واغرض عن
ملاذ الدنيا ورفضها وخالف اليونانيين
في عبادتهم الا صنم وقابلهم بسا هم بالحجج
والادلة فتور العالم عليه واضطروا ملهم
الي قتله -

4

(جالينوس) وهو خاتم الاطباء الكبار ولم يحي
بعده من الا من هو دون منزلة ومتعلم منه
وكان رمان مولده لجدرمان المسيح عليه
السلام بدوين الى سنة وصنف كتباً كثيرة
صغارا وكبارا نحو اربع مائة -

5

(ارسطاطليس) وقال ليس شيء اصح للناس
من اولى الامر اذا صلحوا ولا افسد لهم ولا لنفسهم
اذا افسدوا وقالوا الى من الرعية بمنزلة الراس
من الجسد والروح من البدن الذي لا حيوة له
الا به - وقال احذر الخمر فاما ما هو
وصح على يدك فانزهد واعلم ان الزهد باليقين -

2

سقراط طيس الحكيم الزاهد المتأله سقراط
كان من تلاميذ فيثاغورس واقتصر من
الفلسفة على العلوم الالهية واغرض عن
ملاذ الدنيا ورفضها واعلى مخالفة اليونانيين
في عبادتهم الا صنم وقابلهم بسا هم بالحجج
والادلة فتور العامة عليه واضطروا
ملهم الي قتله -

4

(جالينوس) كان خاتم الاطباء الكبار
ولم يحي بعده من الا طباء هو دون منزله
ومتعلم منه وكانت مدة حياته جالينوس
لجدرمان المسيح عليه السلام بدوين الى
سنة وصنف كتباً كثيرة صغارا وكبارا نحو
اربع مائة -

5

وقال ارسطوطلي ليس اعلم انه ليس شيء اصح للناس
من اولى الامر اذا صلحوا ولا افسد لهم ولا لنفسهم
اذا افسدوا وقالوا الى من الرعية بمنزلة
الروح من الجسد والروح من البدن الذي
لا حيوة له الا بها - وقال احذر الخمر فاما ما هو
وصح على يدك فانزهد واعلم ان الزهد
باليقين -

So important was the Nuzhat considered that it was translated into Persian, the title being the Tārīkh-i-Ḥukamā-i-Sa. Although al-Ma'rūfī had also borrowed the life of Avicenna in the Tārīkh-i-Ḥukamāu'l-Islām, he acknowledged the indebtedness of its author.

It is also noteworthy that not only Shahrazūrī and al-Ma' have copied from the Tārīkh-i-Ḥukamāu'l-Islām, but the great author al-Qiftī has also borrowed from the Tārīkh-i-Ḥukamāu'l-Islām in the Tārīkh-i-Ḥukamā², the biography of Avicenna in particular, and forgotten to mention the source.

¶ quote hereunder a few parallel lines from both the books.

The Tārīkh-i-Ḥukamāu'l-Islām.	The Tārīkh-i-Ḥukamāu'l-Islām.
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الوعى بن سينا الشيخ الرئيس ... وقال كان رجل
يقال له ابو محمد الشيرازي وقد اختصني ابنه
الشيخ ... انزل له جوارا ...
عبد ... اليه كل يوم ...
وصنف لابي محمد الشيرازي كتاب المبدأ
والمعاد وكتاب الاسرار الكلية وصنف

الوعى بن سينا الشيخ الرئيس ... قال كان
مجان رجل يقال له ابو محمد شيرازي
... وقد اختصني الشيخ ...
... انزل له جوارا ...
... اليه كل يوم ...
وصنف لابي محمد الشيرازي
كتاب المبدأ والمعاد وكتاب الاسرار الكلية

1. Suppl. Cat. Per. MSS. Br. Mus. No. 100. Professor Muhammad Sharf' of Lahore has published in the Oriental College Magazine, ^{Lahore} Feb. 1929, Vol. V, p. 109, some part of another Persian translation of the Tārīkh-i-Ḥukamāu'l-Islām, named Durrat al-Akhbār wa Lam'atu'l-Anwār. But the Professor does not say anything as to where the MS. was found, or where it is now.
2. Cat. Ar. MSS. Ber. Lib. No. 10053, Ms. 493, f. 163b.
3. Tār. Ḥuk. Islām. f. 28a, l. 1. 4. Tār. Ḥuk. p. 163, l. 16.

وصنف هناك كتب كثيرة كاول القانون
 ومختصر المجسطي وكثيرا من الرسائل ثم صنف
 في ارض الجبل بقيه كتبه وهذا فهرست جميع
كتبه - كتاب المجموع مجلد ٥٠٠ .

صنف في جرجان كتب كثيرة كاول القانون
 ومختصر من المجسطي وكثيرا من الرسائل
 والكتب وهذا فهرست جميع مصنفااته
 كتاب المجموع مجلد ٥٠٠ -

Thirdly, the *Tārīkh-i-Hukamā'u'l-Islām* gives sketches of great authors, philosophers and other men of letters, some of the Christian authors and philosophers of the early Islamic era, such as Hunayn b. Isḥāq, and other prominent men of letters, which sketches we have translated into English, and give later on in this chapter.

Owing to the value and importance of the *Tārīkh-i-Hukamā'u'l-Islām*, a photographic facsimile has been made from the Berlin MS. by order of my Professor Sir E. Denison Ross, the Director of the School of Oriental Studies, London, and is now preserved in the School Library. The work is undoubtedly of great importance and I hope to edit it with a preface, and an English translation.

MSS. of the *Tārīkh-i-Hukamā'u'l-Islām*.¹

So far as we know there exist four MSS. of the *Tārīkh-i-Hukamā'u'l-Islām*; one in the Berlin Library, which is a complete one, written in a neat thulth, with golden lines in the margins, folios 99. It begins with the biography of Hunayn b. Isḥāq, and ends with the account of Zaynu'd-Dīn Jurjānī.

The second one, in the Leyden Library, comprises an abridgement from the *Tārīkh-i-Hukamā'u'l-Islām* by Abu Isḥāq al-Ghazālī al-Tabrizī, as he himself states:-²

هذا آخر ما وعدنا من الاختصار من تكملة صوران الحكمة من تأليف الأصم طهيس الدين أبي الحسن بن القاسم البيهقي قدس الله روحه

1. For the references on this page see Chapter I.

2. See n. 1. p.

After the abridgement he adds a supplement to the book, in which, so as to enhance its beauty, he has added some more biographical sketches of learned men, and quoted some of their verses, to which he refers as follows:-¹

من الرسالة المحقة بكتات تنتمه صوان الحكمة التي وعدتها في اول الجزوال مختصر من كتاب صوان الحكمة
واوردت فيها لبعض فوايد الحكماء واستعارهم ليكون الكتاب اجمل -

The *Tatimma-i-Şiwānu'l-Hikma*² with the biography of Zaynu'd-Dīn Jurjānī, and the author has completed his supplement with biographical notice of Shihābu'd-Dīn Suharwardī, and quoted some of his verses, to which he refers thus:-²

تم ختم الرسالة بذكر شهاب الدين سحر وردى وبلغت من اشعاره وباتمام الكتاب وسلم -

Further, we learn that the book was transcribed in the year 692 A.H. by the copyist Ibnu'l-Ghulām, which is stated in these words:-³

وجدنا هذا التعليق انتقظها افضل المتقدمين والتأخرين البراسحق الخضر قدس الله نفسه
ونقلنا كما وجدناها في سنة ٦٩٢ كتبها ابن الغلام -

Bashir One of these two MSS. of the *Tārīkh-i-Ḥukamāu'l-Islām* in the
Aghā Constantinople libraries, which we have referred to before, is
Library the MS. in the library of Bashir Aghā, which was transcribed
MS. 689 A.H. In this MS. some other author (whose name is not given, but we think it is Abū Ishāq Ghāḍanfar, whose name appears in the catalogue of Leyden Library, and who has written a supplement to the *Tatimma-i-Şiwānu'l-Hikma*), mentions the MS. in the

1. See *Chap I.*

2. Dozy, *Cat.Ar.MSS.* Vol.II, p.292, Cod.133d, Gal.

3. See *№2.*

following words:-¹
 واخره (كتاب صوران الحكمة) كتاب تسميه صوران الحكمة لامام الفاضل ظهير الدين (ابي الحسن بن ابي القاسم
 البيهقي رحمه الله تعالى) ووضعت في اخره رسالة وسميت باتمام التمه وذكرت فيها ١٠ اشعار المتأخرين
 من الحكماء وختمتها بالتواخيح به.

The other MS. in the library of Mullá Murád was transcribed
 in 649 A.H., the author mentioning it thus:-²
 هذا اخر ما وعدنا من الاختصار من كتاب صوران الحكمة لعون الله وتيسر يده كتاب تسميه صوران الحكمة
 من تأليف الشيخ الامام ظهير الدين ابي الحسن بن ابي القاسم البيهقي رحمه الله تعالى.

1. See Chapter I, 66

2. See n. 1.

We have, hereunder given a translation of biographical sketches of the eminent Muslim and Christian authors and philosophers mentioned in the *Tárikh-i-Hukamáu'l-Islám*, omitting unimportant parts of those sketches.

Abu 'Alí Sina or Avicenna.

Our author gives in the *Tárikh-i-Hukamáu'l-Islám* a biographical sketch of Avicenna, which runs to 31 pages of the book, and includes the story he quoted about Abu Naṣr Fārābīs' book of metaphysics. Moreover he had himself seen a few of Avicenna's books, such as *al-Muqtaḍiāt*, *Ḥayʾb. Yaqtān*, which are unmentioned in the *Encyclopaedia of Islám* and in Brockelmann.

We give in the following a translation of certain parts of the sketch, which include a list of his works.

" Al-Ḥakīm al-Wazīr Sharafu'l-Mulk Abu'Alí al-Ḥusayn Abdu'llah b. Sina-al-Bukhārī's father was a prosperous native of Balkh, and an official. He removed to Bukhárá during the reign of al-Amīr Maliku'l-Mashriq Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr, by whom he was appointed a collector of revenue for the town Kharmatayn in Bukhárá, at one time a great city. Near this city there was a village called Afshana, where Avicenna's father married a lady named Sitára (star and where Avicenna was born in the year 370 A.H. = 980 A.D. (Here our author describes Avicenna's birth astrologically, f.23b.)

Five years after Avicenna's birth his brother Maḥmūd was born. It was after Maḥmūd's birth that his parents left the village for

Bukhárá, where Avicenna was placed under a tutor, from whom he learned the Qu'rán and studied literature. When he reached his tenth year he committed to memory the main principles of composition. His father being very anxious for the education of the youth, he himself undertook the task of teaching him Rasá'id-il-Ikhwánu's-Safá and mathematics, including algebra. Later on he met Hakím Abu Abdu'llah an-Nátílí al-Bukháráí. The boy learnt fiqh with Ismá'il az-Záhid and used to debate with him on various problems. First he read the book Isághújí with Nátílí, and acquired a sound knowledge of logic. He then started on Euclid and Majistí. When Nátílí had finished with the teaching of the boy, he (Nátílí) entered into the court of Khwárazmsháh Mámún b. Muḥammad, and Avicenna devoted himself to the study of physics, metaphysics, and various other works, gradually becoming proficient.

He was then attracted to medicine, became devoted to it, mastered it in a very short time, and later on became unequalled in that science. Great physicians visited him, availed themselves of his extraordinary knowledge, and discussed with him their experiments. When he had passed his twelfth year, he spent eighteen months in the further study of logic and philosophy and by this time he was so whole-heartedly attached to study that he never slept a whole night through, and did nothing during the day-time except read.

During this period he not only studied but extracted many subtleties from his learning. When sometimes he feared he might

fall asleep he would drink a cup of nabiz (a kind of drink made of dates and raisins). Contrary to Plato and other philosophers, Abu 'Alí was in the habit of taking drink and satisfying his physical appetites, sometimes to excess. This affected his studies very much, and somewhat retarded progress with his work, yet it did not undermine his vast knowledge. He wished to study mathematics, but on account of a taste for the more interesting metaphysics, he decided upon the latter, studying a certain book and re-reading it some forty times till he knew it by heart. About this very work he related a story. He said that 'one day, passing a market of book-sellers, a salesman ~~named al-hakam~~ proffered to sell him the manuscript of the book in question, which he refused harshly to buy, deeming the subject hardly worth his while. But the salesman persisted, and Abu 'Alí bought that book for the nominal sum of three dirams, in order to rid himself of the attentions of the salesman and to help the owner of the book. He found the book - on metaphysics - to have been written by Abu Naṣr Fārābī, the "Second Teacher". When he had finished reading it, he was so delighted to have come across it that as a mark of his great gratification he distributed a considerable amount of money among the poor.

Once Amír Maṣṣūr b. Nūḥ was taken ill, the great physicians of the time were unable to cure him. At this period Abu 'Alí was fast becoming famous. The Amír's physician, knowing this, called him in to take part in a consultation and then to assist in the treat-

ment of the Amír. It was in this way that he entered the service of Amír Maṣṣūr as one of his physicians.

Once Abu 'Alī having asked permission of the Amír to use his library - a permission which was at once granted - he had a look through the catalogue of the books it contained, and he found many books by Abu Naṣrī Fārābī, and others of which he had never heard. He began to read the books and greatly profited by them. Unfortunately later on the library was somehow set on fire and all the books were utterly destroyed. Some people are of the opinion that the enemies of Abu 'Alī perpetrated the act, assuming that Abu 'Alī, with his knowledge of the books, would reproduce their ideas as their own.

By this time Abu 'Alī had reached his eighteenth year and had completed his studies upon all the subjects that he had attempted.

Once a man named Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Arūqī, living in his neighbourhood, requested him to write a comprehensive book for him on poeṣy. Abu 'Alī complied with his request and mentioned him in the book, exhibiting in the volume his own profound knowledge of the subject.

Abu Bakr al-Ḥarqī al-Khwārazmī, a faqīh, mufṣasir and zahīd, another neighbour of his, requested Abu 'Alī to write commentaries on fiqh, tafsīr and other subjects, which he did; among them being al-Ḥāṣil wa'l-Maḥṣūl in twenty volumes, which were to be seen in the library of Jurjān, but were afterwards lost. Abu 'Alī

wrote also another book for Abu Bakr upon ethics, that bore the title of al-Birr-i wa'l-Ithm, a volume I had the opportunity of seeing in the possession of Muḥammad al-Ḥārithā al-Sarakhsī, in Abu 'Alī's own handwriting.

In his twenty-second year Abu 'Alī's circumstances changed; the power of Amīr Maṣṣūr began to decline and the Samanid were causing inconvenience. Abu 'Alī was obliged to leave Bukhārā to be present at the court of Khwārazmshāh 'Alī b. Māmān. His wazīr Abu'l-Ḥasan Subaylī was a great patron of learning, who helped scholars by granting them allowances, and otherwise supplying their needs. This patron of learning looked after Abu 'Alī for some time. Again he had to leave Khwarazm and travel visiting such places as Bulqansa and Ahward, Ṭūs, and Jajerm, the boundary of Khurāsān, and then to Jurjān. For some time he received support from Amīr Qābūs, who before long was imprisoned in a fortress, where he died. After this event Abu 'Alī travelled to Dihistān where he was taken seriously ill; from there he returned to Jurjān.

In Jurjān he was received by Abu 'Ubayd Jurjānī. who later on used to visit Abu 'Alī every day to read Majistī, Basmala'l-Mantiq and al-Mukhtaṣaru'l-Awsaṭ fi'l-Mantiq; and this last caused him to be known as "al-Awsaṭ al-Jurjānī."

There was another man in Jurjān called Abu Muḥammad ash-Shirāzī, who was a great supporter of Abu 'Alī and for whom Abu 'Alī wrote two books, entitled al-Mabda' wa'l-Ma'ād, and al-

Irşádu'l-Kulliyya. He composed many books in Jurján, such as the beginning of al-Qánún, al-Mukhtaşar min al-Majlisí, and many books and small works.

The following is a complete list of his works:-

Kitáb al-Majmú', one volume; al-Háşil wa'l-Mahşúl, two volumes; al-Birr wa'l-Ithm, two volumes; ash-Shifá, one volume; al-Qánún, four volumes; Kitábu'n-Najat; al-Hidáya; al-Ishárát; al-Awsát; al-'Alá'í; Lisán-u'l-'Arab, two volumes; al-Adwiya'l-Qalíta; al-Mújiz; al-Hikmatu'l-Qudsiyyah; Bayan-i-Dawáta'l-Jiha; al-Mabda wa'l-Ma'ád; al-Ma'ád; al-Muqtađiat. Among his rasáil are:- Risála fi'l-Qada wa'l-Qadar; al-Ajram al-'Ulawiyya; al-'Alátu'r-Raşadiyya; 'Arad Fáţifúrbás; al-Mantiq bi'sh-Sh'r; al-Tuḥfa; Risála fi'l-Hurúf; al-Mawaḥiḥi'u'l-Jadalliyya; Mukhtaşar Uqlaydis; Rasá'il fi'l-Nabq; fi'l-Jadwal; Aqsám 'Ulúmu'l-Hikma; fi'n-Niháya wa'l-'Inháya; Ḥayy bin Yaqţán; Ab'ád al-Jism Ghayr Zátiyya;"

Abu Naşr Fárábí.

An account of "the Greatest Philosopher of Islám" is as follows:-

" Ash-Shaykh Abu Naşr al-Fárábí, i.e. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Tarkhán came from Fáráb in Turkistan. Abu Naşr is entitled "the Second Teacher", and it is held that as regards his learning there had been no man born to equal him in Islám. It was said that there were four great learned men and philosophers in the world; two

in the pre-Islamic age, those were Aristotle and Alexander the Great and two in the Islamic age, those being Abu Naṣr and Abu 'Alī. There was an interval of thirty years between the date of the death of Abu Naṣr Fārābī and the birth of Abu 'Alī. Abu 'Alī availed himself greatly of the works of Abu Naṣr, a fact which he himself admits, saying that he had an incomplete knowledge of metaphysics until he had thoroughly studied the books of Fārābī on the subject. (Here our author thanked God for the knowledge he had of this subject.)

Abu Naṣr had produced numerous works, and most of them are to be found in Syria; some in Khurāsān. Among his works may be mentioned:- al-Mukhtaṣaru'l-Awsaṭ fi'l-Manṭiq; al-Mukhtaṣaru'l-Mu'jiz; al-Burhān, Jawāmi' Kutubi'l-Manṭiq; Irā'u'l Madīnatu'l-Fāṣila, at-Ta'līqāt; Sharḥ Kutub Arastū, and Sharḥ Uqlaydis; four volumes of music; Kitābu'n-Nafs; Kitābu't-Tafsīr; Kitāb Tahmānīyāt, and many a small work.

I have seen in the library called the Treasury of the Naqibu'n Nuqābā in Ray, some of the rarest books by Abu Naṣr, and most of them, I saw, were either in his own handwriting or in that of his pupil Abī Zakariyā Yahyā' b. 'Adī .

I have come across in the Akhlāqu'l-Ḥukamā, that Isma'īl b. 'Abbād presented gifts to Abu Naṣr and displayed a great desire for his friendship, saying: "Who ever will take me to Abu Naṣr or bring him to me, I will bestow favours upon him, and make him a wealthy man. Abu Naṣr, in turn, had refused to accept his

gifts, or to meet him.

Afterwards Abu Naṣr condescended to visit the house of 'Abbād but reluctantly, and to the great astonishment of his host. At that time it happened that 'Abbād was in the company of his familiar friends, among whom were humourists and merry makers. It seems that he was quite taken by surprise and not a little ashamed at this unexpected visit of Abu Naṣr, particularly at such a convivial moment. He flew into a great rage with the door-keeper for not informing him of his visitor's arrival instantly. Those present at the moment were also ashamed, and apologised to Abu Naṣr, who assured them profusely that he was not in the slightest degree displeased with them, and soon they were satisfied that this was so. He thereupon, quite pleasantly, made one of the company, joined in the conversation heartily, talked of wine, of riches, pleasures, and all sorts of things. Some people say that when Abu Naṣr visited 'Abbād he had a musical instrument with him, like a harp, upon which was inscribed "Abu Naṣr Fārābī has come." Further, he played masterfully upon the instrument for a while, and afterwards left the place for Bāghdād. 'Abbād and his friends were greatly astonished at Abu Naṣr's proficiency in music, were sorry that his stay was so short, and 'Abbād ordered the instrument, which Abu Naṣr had left with them, to be kept carefully, hoping that he might return to the town some day. When 'Abbād's musician took hold of it, he

exclaimed: "O Sāhib you were thinking that the instrument was in perfect condition, but look what has happened to it." 'Abbād saw that Abu Naṣr had already ^{rendered} the instrument useless, and he was so much upset by the whole incident that he is said to have forsaken all pleasures for the rest of his life, and expressed his sorrow for having wasted his time in the company of mere pleasure seekers thus neglecting the cultivation of his own ego. Alas! Where are admirers such as 'Abbād to be found!

I recall my tutor telling me, that once Abu Naṣr, while travelling from Dimashq to 'Asqalán, was attacked by a gang of robbers. Realising the danger of the situation Abu Naṣr offered them all the animals, arms, clothing that he and his party had with them. These the robbers lost no time in seizing, and yet were not satisfied. To lessen the risk of discovery, the gang decided to kill Abu Naṣr and all those with him. Thereupon a fight took place, but Abu Naṣr and all his companions were eventually killed. When the people of Syria learned of the horrible outrage they proceeded to arrest the gang. They buried the body Abu Naṣr and crucified all the robbers near his grave.

Some people who had no knowledge of how Abu Naṣr came by his death say that he was attacked by insanity, suffering from this he went to the bank of the Tigris and there spoke to a man who was selling dates. He asked him - curtly perhaps - how he was selling them. The words angered the man and he answered rudely and then began to thrash him, crying "How dare you ask me the question? an

so he beat Abu Naṣr to death.

Among the sayings of Abu Naṣr are: 'He who wishes to learn philosophy should be young, healthy, possessing all good qualities; he must first have knowledge of the Qu'rán, then of lexicography, of fiqh; he should also be modest, learned, a good speaker, and an abstainer from evil. He should moreover be a man of some means, should perform religious duties at their proper time and places, and should respect men of learning, and learning itself should be above all earthly things.'

Abu Naṣr also says 'the philosopher should attain knowledge first, then discuss it with specialists, and then put it into practice, otherwise that knowledge is likely to remain incomplete. If the foregoing qualities are not to be found in a certain man, he is not to be reckoned a philosopher.'

Abu Naṣr further says 'if learning is not adorned with ethics, the possessor will have no reward in the world to come. One's qualities are completed by ethics, just as a tree is crowned with fruit.' He also remarks 'when one considers oneself above one's position, one is not likely to improve that position.'

As we have already said the Táríkh-i-Hukamáu'l-Islám contains the earliest and the longest account of 'Umar Khayyám, ^{which} we would have translated ~~it~~ into English - as we have the accounts of Avicenna, Abu Naṣr Fárábí and others - but as ~~the account of Umar Khayyám~~ ^{it} was translated and published recently in the Bulletin of

of the School of Oriental Studies, London, I think I can not do better than reproduce the translation, which is given hereunder:-

The Master and Philosopher, the Proof of the People,

'Umar ibn Ibráhím al-Khayyám.

He was a Nishápúrí by birth, as also were his father and his ancestors. He was the disciple of Abú 'Alí in the various branches of philosophic studies, but was withal a man of disagreeable character and peevish temper. Having studied a certain book in Isfahán seven times and memorized it, he returned to Nishápúr and there dictated it. It was afterwards compared with a copy of the original, and very little difference was found between them. His horoscope was Gemini, the sun and Mercury being in the ascendant. He was niggardly in both composing and teaching, and wrote nothing but a compendium on physics, a treatise on Existence, and another on Being and Obligation, though he had a wide knowledge of philology, jurisprudence, and history.

The story is told that the Imám 'Umar one day entered the presence of the wazír Shiháb al-Islám, i.e. 'Abd ar-Razzáq, son of the great juriconsult Abu'l-Qásim 'Abdalláh ibn 'Alí ibn Akh Nazẓám. With the latter was the Imám of the Koran-readers, Abu'l-Hasan al-Ghazzál, and the two of them were discussing the different readings of a certain verse of the Koran. Shiháb al-Islám said "Now we have lighted on the expert", and questioned the Imám 'Umar on the point. Thereupon 'Umar not only enumerated the conflicting readings of

of the readers with the objections to each one, but also related the unsupported traditions and exposed their faults, and then proceeded to argue for the superiority of one reading over all the other readings. The Imám of the Readers, Abu'l-Hasan al-Ghazzál, exclaimed, "May God multiply such men as you among the learned! Make me one of the familiars of your house and grant me your favour. I never thought that anyone in the world, not even any of the readers, could memorize and master the whole of that, let alone one of the philosophers."

In the mathematical and metaphysical branches of philosophy he was a thorough master. One day the Imám, the Proof Of Islám, Muḥammad al-Ghazzálí, visited him and questioned him on the greater prominence of one of the polar sections of the celestial sphere than of the other sections, although the sphere itself is symmetrical. (I have discussed this point in my own book 'Ará'is an-Nafá'is.) The Imam 'Umár made a discourse of inordinate length, beginning with the statement that movement belonged to such and such a category, but dealt very meagrely with the point under discussion - for such was the usual way of this much-revered shaykh. At length the mosque attendant whose duty it was to give the signal (to the Mu'adhḥin) at midday rose to his task, and the mu'adhḥin issued the call to prayer, whereupon the Imám al-Ghazzálí quoted "The truth has come and falsehood has passed away", and went off.

The Imám 'Umar one day visited the Great Sultan Sinjar during

during his boyhood, when he was suffering from an attack of smallpox. When he came out the wazir Mujir ad-Dawlah said to him, "What do you think of him and how have you treated him?" The Imám 'Umar replied to him, "The boy is dangerous." The words were caught by a negro eunuch, who brought them to the ears of the Sultan. When the Sultán recovered he entertained a secret feeling of hatred for the Imám 'Umar and disliked him, whereas the Sultán Maliksháh used to number him amongst his boon companions and the Kháqán Shams al-Mulúk at Bukhárá used to show him the greatest honour, so much so that he would seat the Imám 'Umar beside him on his divan.

The Imám 'Umar once told the following story to my father. One day, he said, I was with the Sultan Maliksháh when a boy came in, one of the children of the amirs, and did homage to him most gracefully. I marvelled at the elegance of the salutation in one so young as he was, but the Sultan said to me, "Do not be surprised at a young chicken, when its egg is broken, sets about pecking^{at} grains without being taught, but it cannot find its own way to its nest, while a young pigeon does not peck at grains until it has been taught through being fed from the bill, but in spite of that it grows into a pigeon which can direct itself and will fly from Mecc to Baghdád." The Sultan's words impressed me greatly, and I said, "Every one of greatness is guided by instinct."

I myself once visited the Imám on behalf of my father (may God have mercy upon him) in the year 507, and he asked me to explain

a verse in the Ḥamásah which runs:

Nor do they pasture, when they alight, on the flanks of quietude
nor in the grove of meekness.

I said "al-huwayná is a diminutive with no corresponding form of magnitude, just like ath-thurayyá and al-humayyá. The poet intends to indicate the might and invincibility of this tribe; his expression means 'when they encamp at any place, they do not stoop to weakness or ignominy, but aim at ever more glorious deeds. Then he asked me how many kinds of segments there are. I replied "Four kinds, including the circumference of the circle, and a segment greater than a half-circle." Turning to my father he said "A chip of the old block."

His son-in-law, the Imám Muḥammad al-Baghdádí, told me that he used to use a golden toothpick. He was studying the metaphysics in (Avicenna's) Shifá, and when he came to the chapter on "The One and the Many", he placed the toothpick between the two pages and said, "Summon the righteous ones that I may make my testament. He then made his testament, arose and prayed, and neither ate nor drank. When he prayed the last evening prayer he prostrated himself, saying as he did so, "O God, Thou knowest that I have sought to know Thee to the measure of my powers. Forgive my sins, for my knowledge of Thee is my means of approach to Thee," and died.

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Our author gives hereunder an account of the famous author Sháristání¹, and mentions his books, ^{among them} only the Kitábu'l-Milal wa'n-Nihál being mentioned by Brockelmann² and by Hájí Khal.³ on the authority of Shahrázúrí⁴, who came to know of the book through the Táríkh-i-Hukamáu'l-Islám.⁵ ~~Kitábu'l-Milal~~

" Al-Imám Muḥammad ash-Sháristání produced many works, among them being Kitábu'l-Milal wa'm Nihál, Kitábu'l-'Uyún wa'l-Anḥáṣ, The Story of Músá and Khiḍr, and Kitábu'l-Manáhiḡ wa'l-'Ayát. From the last mentioned book he read a chapter, discussed it with me, and wished to discuss the whole, but before he could do this he died. His books exceeded twenty volumes. I saw one volume in which he had recorded philosophical discussions which took place between him and other learned men, for instance Imám Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Ḥamawiyya and others. I was astonished that he included me among these learned men. (Here our author describes philosophical discussions which took place between them, ff. 7a and b.). Sháristání was also a courtier of Sulṭán Sanjar and his confidant. He died in Sháristán in the year 548 A.H."

*. The same book is referred to in Prof. Browne's Literary History of Persia,⁶ and by Dr. Nidhamu'd-Dín.⁷

1. Tár. Huk. Islám, f. 78b.

2. Brock. *Vol. II, p. 420.*

3. Háj. Khal. *Vol. V, No. 10527.*
f. 161 a.

4. Nuzhat.

5. Tár. Huk. Islám, *f. 79 a.*

6. Lit. His. Per. *Vol. II, p. 299.*

7. Jawámí'. *41, n. 4.*

The following are seketches of a few Christian philosophers and authors from the Táríkh-i-Ḥukamáu'l-Islám.

Hunayn b. Isháq al-Mutarjim.

"Ḥunayn was the first man to translate a Greek lexicon into Syriac and Arabic. He was said to have compiled the most learned Arabic-Greek lexicon since the time of Alexander the Great. Ḥunayn was born in Baghdád, grew up and was educated in Syria. He lived in the reign of the Khalifs al-Mámún and al-Mu'taṣim. A Christian one day he observed a picture of Christ in the interior of a church and said "Why should it be allowed to exhibit pictures in that holy place, where only God ought to be worshipped, God himself cannot be represented in any picture."

Hearing of this utterance of his, Játhaliq, the reigning King, had Ḥunayn confined within his own house. Under this form of imprisonment he is said to have solved medical problems, and to have written commentaries on the books of Aristotle and Plato. Later on the King apologised to him, but Ḥunayn appears not to have forgiven him, and spent the remainder of his life in disseminating knowledge.

Among Ḥunayn's sayings are:- 'Whosoever stops eating after intoxication, or before already eaten food is digested, will not be in need of any physician. To eat the meat of a dead animal is poisonous.'

al-Ḥakīm Matá b. Yúnus al-Mutarjim.

"Matá b. Yúnus was a great Christian author; he wrote commentaries on the books of Aristotle, composed books on logic and other subjects. Among his sayings are:-

'There are three good qualities; one of self, one of body, and one of externals. The good quality of self is to realize the reality of things, cultivate good morals and live accordingly. The bodily requisites is physical culture; the fitness of the different parts of the body. The external quality is towards gaining worldly things in a just manner and to expend it in a proper way'."

Yahyá an-Nahwí, known as Bitríq.

"Yahyá an-Nahwí ad-Daylamí was another Christian author, a preacher and one of the leading learned men of ancient times. Hearing that one of the governors of 'Alí ibn Abi Ṭálib, the Khalif, threatened to exile him from Persia and destroy his church, Yahyá informed the Khalif of the threat and requested his protection, which was readily granted. I have myself seen the letter of protection (f.15a) in the possession of al-Ḥakīm Abi'l-Futúḥ al-Mustawlí, who was a Christian also. Yahyá wrote several books which contained adverse criticism of Aristotle and Plato, from the point of view of Christianity.

Avicenna used to say of Yahyá that 'he was a gilded pillar of Christianity.' Imám Ghazálí used to extol him for the

painstaking care he took in acquiring knowledge, for his carefulness in transcribing, and his brilliance in discussing logical and philosophical problems. Yahyá wrote many books (but is not given the name of any of them).

A pupil of Yahyá's was Khálid b. Yazíd b. Ma'áwiya, who acquired his medical knowledge from him. Yahyá's sayings are: 'He who does not practice the good that is in his heart and disbelieves in the Other World is not of us. The worst thing for a King is for him to entreat, and to battle with cowards. For the rich it is abominable to be miserly; for the poor to be proud; it is ridiculous for the old to jest; wicked for the young to be lazy; absurd for people to be envious, and distressing to see them quarrel. Poverty is the greatest of evils. He who recognises the superiority of learned men, is well on the road to learning himself'. "

Ya'qúb b. Isháq al-Kundí Ya'qúb.

"Ya'qúb, yet another Christian, was a great mathematician. He wrote many books. In some of his books he brought together Muhammadan jurisprudence and philosophy. I have seen a few of his rare books. The Khalif al-Mu'tasim had great regard for him al Hakím Abu Sahal al-Maṣṣīḥí.¹

"Abu Sahal, another Christian author, was greatly learned in medicine, and wrote books upon the subject at the command of

1. See also Chahár Maqála, p.235, for some facts of his life.

of Khawárazmsháh Mámún b. Muhammad. Abu Sahal was born and grew up in Jurján, and was educated in Baghdád. He wrote a great work dealing with finance for the Treasury of Khawárazmsháh Mámún. Among his sayings are:- 'The well-born is always to be respected' - a rather surprising opinion to come across in these days - 'The wisest is the one who is ever contented; the worst and most ignorant is the one who is afraid at all times. Men without wisdom and knowledge are like pictures - without life.' Abu Sahal wrote a book about mind, in which he attempted to explain it. In that book he states that 'when one is not contented with what he possesses, no increase of his possessions would satisfy him'."

'Ind al-Yasú' b. Yuhanna al-Mutaṭṭayyib.

" 'Ind al-Yasú' was a Christian philosopher and a doctor of medicine. Among his sayings are:- 'If one does not know oneself how can one be sure of knowing anything? Self, when it is devoted to spiritual affairs, becomes godlike, and when it is directed earthwards it becomes bestial'."

CHAPTER XI.

Some details of ^{Authors'} ~~this~~ non-existent works.

Some of our author's books are mentioned in other works as well as in catalogues. The list of the works given by the author in the *Masháribu't-Tajárib* is quoted in the *Irshád*, and in *al-Wafá* *l-Wafayát*, some of the books being mentioned in works such as *Kufuh-Dhunún* of the Turkish bibliographer *Hájí Khalifa*, *Wafáyátu A'yán* of *Ibn-i-Khallikán*, *Brockelmann* and others; and in the lists of catalogues of the *British Museum*, *Berlin State Library*, *Leyden* and *Constantinople*. Though none of them is in existence, something may be said about them.

*Masháribu't-Tajárib wa Ghwáribu'l-Ghará'ib.*¹

This book, a universal history, written in Arabic in four volumes, ² was a continuation of the *Tárikh-i-Yamíní* of *al-'Utbi* and we have dealt with it in Chapter III. It was one of the most important of our author's ~~works~~, and mentioned most by other authors in their historical ~~works~~.

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1. *Irshád*, Vol.V, p.212. *Tár.Huk.Islám*, p.94b.
Ma'adí, Vol.II, f.68b. T.G. preface, p.8. *Barthold*, pp.
Haj.Khal. Vol.V, p.544, No.12043. *Jahán-gushá*. Vol.II, p.
Suppl.Cat.Per.MSS. Br.Mus. p.61.
Ber.Cat.Per.MSS. p.516, No.535. *Sprenger* 207,208.
E.Kahl. *Cat.Per.Ar.Tur.MSS.* ~~in~~ *Tashkent Lib.* No.9a, p.8.
2. ~~See~~ The author refers to the fourth volume of this book in *Tárikh-i-Hukamáu'l-Islám*, f.94b.

The book seems to have survived long after our author, and passed into the hands of later authors. So far as we know, it was first utilized by Yáqút in his *Irshádu'l-Arib*¹ (595 A.H. = 1198 A.D.), who quotes from the book some part of our author's autobiography, and some facts about Isma'íl b. 'Abbád. It is also used by Yáqút in *Mu'jamu'l-Buldán*² (626 A.H. = 1224 A.D.) in his reference to the town of Ustuwá. After this it is utilized by Ibnu'l-Athír (628 A.H. = 1230 A.D.), an extract from *Masháribu't-Tajárib* relating to Sultánsháh of Khwárazm is brought down to 595 A.H.³

Then Juwayní (658 A.H. = 1260 A.D.) used the book in his *Tárikh-i-Jahán-gushá*, as a source for the account of Baláktágin, an official in the reign of the Seljuq kings, and for the Khawárazmsháhi period.⁴

Later on Hamdu'llah Mustawfí (730 A.H. = 1330 A.D.) included *Mashárib* among the list of sources of the *Tárikh-i-Guzidá*,⁵ about the Khwárazmsháhi period.

It is also drawn upon by Professor Barthold in his *Turkes*

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1. *Irshád*, Vol.V, p. 208-218; Vol.II, pp. 314.
 2. *Mu'jam*. Egypt, Vol.I, p.225.
 3. *Kámil*, Vol.XI, p.249; Vol.I, p.243. Barthold in his *Turkes* gives the year 568 A.H. p.31, n.6.
 4. *Jahán-gushá*, Vol.II, pp. 21,1.
 5. T.G. p.8.
 6. Barthold. p.31.

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(1900 A.D.), and by Mirzá Muḥammad in his edition of *Jahār* *ḡushá*¹ (1916), both of them correcting the mistake contained in the *Jahān-gushá* concerning *Mashāribu't-Tajārib*, but neither of these gentlemen ever saw the book.

Wusháhu-Dumyatu'l-Qaṣr.²

This work comprises memoirs of poets contemporary with our author who wrote it as a continuation of *Dumyatu'l-Qaṣr* of *Bákhari*, which is a continuation of *Yatímatu'd-Dahr* of *ath-Tha'álibí*. Our author was so much interested in *Wusháhu* that he added another continuation to it entitled, *Durratu'l-Wusháhu*.

About *Wusháhu*, *'Imád* writes in *Kharída* that the book existed in *Khurásán*, and quotes some verses from it.⁴

About the same book, *Yáqút* writes that ^{on} his first arrival in *Nishápur* in *Zilqaddar* 613 A.H. he came to know about *Wusháhu d-Dumyáhu*, in which our author wrote that *Abu'l-Qásim al-Bákhari* completed *Dumyáhu'tu'l-Qaṣr* in *Jumádá II* 466 A.H. and he himself

1. *Jahān-gushá*, Vol.II, pp. 1, n.3; 21, n.5.

2. *Haj.Khal.* Vol.VI, p.442. No.14242; p.510, No.14452.

Ibn Khal. Vol.I, p.74.

Kharída, Vol.II, ff. 244b, 190a.

Irshád, Vol.V, pp. 211-214.

Ṣafadí, Vol.XII, f.68b.

Supp. Cat.Per.MSS. Br.Mus. p.61.

T.B. f.56a.

Tár.Huk.Islám, f.89a.

3. *Tár.Huk.Islám*, f.95b; *Irshád*, Vol.V, p.212.

4. *Kharída*, Vol.II, ff.244b, 190a.

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began writing *Wusháḥ* on the 1st of Jumádá 528 A.H. completing in Ramaḍán 535 A.H.¹ Yáqút also gives some verses which our author had composed in praise of Mukhlisū'd-Dīn Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. 'Aṣīm, who was a chief of a literary department in the Court of Sultān Sanjar.²

In another place Yáqút's opinion differs from that of 'Imád about some facts of the book; ~~who~~ {Yáqút} says that he had him also copied from the same book, which was written in the author's own handwriting; but he found a difference in the date, etc.³ Yáqút has given his own selection of verses from a poem that our author composed in eulogy of 'Azīzu'd-Dīn al-Mustawfī.⁴

Lubábu'l-Ansáb wa al-Qábu'l-A'qáb.⁵

This book contains the genealogies of the descendants of the Prophet, not of ancient families and dynasties of Bayhaq, as we have already explained in Chapter *III*

1. *Kharída*, Vol.II, ff.244b, 190a. *Irshád*, Vol.V, p.213.

2. * *Ibid.* Vol.V, p.214.

3. *Ibid.* Vol.V, p.215.

4. See n.3.

5. *Irshád*, Vol.V, p.213; *Ṣafadī*, Vol.XII, f.68b.

Rieu,^a *Suppl.Cat.Per.MSS. Br.Mus.* p.60.

E.Kahl. Cat.Per.Ar.Tur.MSS. Tashkent, No.9a, p.8-9.

T.B. ff.30b, 148b.

'Aráisu'n-Nafáís.¹

This book seems to have contained the logical and philosophic discussions and correspondence which took place between the author and his contemporaries. He refers to this in different places in the *Tárikh-i-Hukamáu'l-Islám*. For example, he describes the correspondence between himself and 'Abdu'r-Razzáq Turkí thus:²

بینی و بینہ (عبدالرزاق) مکاتبات مذکورہ فی کتاب عمر الیس النفا لیس من تصنیفی۔

In another place, in a description of al-Hakím Dhahíru'l-Haq Muhammad b. Mas'úd, he refers to Mas'úd's great learning, and mentions the philosophical discussion that took place between them in the following sentences:-³

مقد ذکرت کمال فضایله (مسعود) فی مسألة الوجود الذي یکننا فيه فی کتاب المعون لجر الیس النفا لیس۔

Similarly, he mentions the book when he sets down the biography of 'Alí b. Sháhak al-Qasárí al-Bayhaqí, and a discussion with Dhahíru'd-Dín, in this way:-⁴

بینی و بین ظهیر الدین مباحثات مذکورہ فی کتاب عمر الیس النفا لیس من تصنیفی۔

Azháru'l-Ashjár.⁵

In this book our author discussed the beauties and defects of poetry. He himself has referred to this when he mentioned the

1. *Tár. Huk. Islám*, f.67a. *Irshád*, Vol.V, p.212. *Şafadí*, Vol.X, f.68b.

2. *Ibid.* f.72b.

3. *Ibid.* f.83a.

4. *Ibid.* f.96b.

5. *Irshád* (Vol.V, p.212) mentions it as *Azháru Ashjáríu'l-Ash'* *Şafadí*, Vol. XII, f.69. T.B. f.90a.

the poetry and verses of Ibráhím b. 'Abdúsh al-Bayhaqí; after describing his verses, he alludes to his own book as follows:¹

درین ابیات ناقدان شعر را سخن است که شعر صناعی است که در دی و قاتی بسیار نگاه بایده داشت و عیوب خفی بسیار دارد
دارد صاف ستوده و نکو بیداده چند صنف باشند بیشتر در کتاب از ما را در شجاء از تصنیف خویش بیا در ده ام -
Jawámi'u Ahkám'u'n-Nujúm.

It seems probable that Hájí Khalífa had seen the books mentioned hereunder. It is the custom of Hájí Khalífa to describe in detail only those books which he had personally seen. With regard to other books he merely mentions the name and passes on.

About the above-named book we learn that it was written in Persian, divided into ten chapters, and its material was collected from two hundred and fifty books, as Hájí Khalífa himself states.

جوامع احكام النجوم فارسی لای الحسن علی بن زاید البیهقی رتب علی عشر و فصول و صبح من مائتین و اثنین.
مسیحین کتاباً -⁵
Manáhiju'd-Daraját fi Sharh-i-Kitábu'n-Naját.

This book was a commentary upon the philosophical work of Avicenna, called Kitábu'n-Naját, and this we learn from our author who, in his discussion with Imám Muḥammad Sarakhsí, happened to mention the book in this way.⁶

وقد جری بینی و بینہ (مسیحی) کلام فی الذیج ان یتقدم علی التصدیق تصورات ان ادلت تصورات وقد ذکر
دالک فی کتاب التیاج -
(7)

1. T.B. f.88a.

2. Irshád mentions it as Jawámi'u'l-Ahkám, Vol.V, p.212. Šafadí, Vol.XII, f.69; Háj.Khal.Vol.II, p.636, No.4244.

3. Chahár Maqála, preface, p.xv.

4. See n. 2. Háj. Khal.

5. Irshád, Vol.V, p.212; Šafadí, Vol.XII, f.69b. Tá. Huk. Islám, f.89b.

6. Ibid. f.90a.

7. Ibid. f.90a. Probably the word شرح is left here, because the book is Avicenna's, and our author had written a commentary on it for it is mentioned in Irshád, Vol.V, p.212 and Šafadí, Vol. p.6

Guraru'l-Amthál wa Duraru'l-Aqwál.¹

About this book, Hájí Khalífa writes that our author had arranged the proverbs on the basis of letters. From every letter he made a proverb, giving his reasons, explaining how to read it, what it meant, and how to solve it. Hájí Khalífa further stated the book to have been the source of Maydání, though we think it more likely that the opposite was the case, as Maydání was our author's tutor, and a celebrated author, whose work Majma'u'l-Amthál² is well-known. Hájí Khalífa mentions the book as follows:-³

نحو الامثال و درر الاقوال لا يالحسن على بن زايد بن محمد البيهقي المتوفى سنة ٨٠٠ هـ كتاب الامثال على الحرف و ذكر لكل منها السبب و الغرض ثم شرحها اعرابا و معاني و ذكر حلها ايضا و هو ما خذ المبدأ الى

Hájí Khalífa mentions a book Qiwám-i-'Ulúmu't-Tib⁴ as having been written by our author, but this book is neither included

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1. Irshád, Vol.V, p.211.
Safadí, Vol.XII, f.69b.
Háj. Khal. Vol.IV, p.318, No.8585.
 2. Suppl. Ar.MSS. Br.Mus.No.997. Or.3086.
 3. See p.1.
 4. Haj.Khal. Vol.V, p.116. No. 10305.

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in the list of the author's works, nor is it mentioned
in his own existing books.

Another book Tafdilu't-Tatfil 'ala Lisān-i-Tufaylu'
'Ara'is is not mentioned by any other author except
by the author himself in the Tārīkh-i-Bayhaq.¹

1. T.B. f.135a.